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WILLIAM PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

Painting by Benjamin West.

WILLIAM PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

Painting by Benjamin West

Official Edition

THE NEW COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By John Clark Ridpath, LL. D.

Author of Ridpath's History of the World

Volume III

INCLUDING the traditions and speculations of the pre-Columbian voyagers; the discovery and settlement of the New Continent; its development under colonial government and the establishment and progress of the Republic.

APPOSITELY illustrated with original drawings, maps, portraits, and notable documents, selected for their contemporaneity from the Royal Archives at Genoa, Madrid, Paris, and London, by special permission of their governments, from the Department of State and the Library of Congress at Washington, and from private collections of rare Americana.

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CHAPTER XXI.

THE COLONIES OF NARRAGANSETT BAY

The unhappy experiences of the founders of Rhode Island and Providence with the authorities and people of Massachusetts Bay have been related in a previous chapter. It is our present task to discover how these people fared in the wilderness, where there was little opposition save from nature and the natives. On the whole the character of Roger Williams strengthens in exile; though there is still something of the old uncertainty of mind, and withal a retrogression from some of his extreme views—which is creditable to his ability to learn from experience, but also gives us pause over condemning his opponents too sweepingly. The strenuous soul of Mrs. Hutchinson was not destined to find peace in this world; her good work for one set of Indians did not save her from slaughter by another. Of the others, some drifted back to Massachusetts, while some forgot their spiritual struggles in the active material life by which they were surrounded.

Founders of Rhode Island

The settlements which were incorporated afterward into the State of Rhode Island were Providence, Pawtuxet, and Warwick upon the mainland, and Pocasset and Newport upon the island known for a time by the Indian name Aquidneck

Constituent settlements

or Aquidnet.[1] The location possessed great natural advantages, and its importance in New England politics was increased by the influence exerted by its inhabitants over the neighboring Indian tribes. Settled first by outcasts from the Bay Colony, independent and discordant elements gathered there, making its early history turbulent and difficult to interpret fairly.

Character of Rhode Island history

The later history of Rhode Island reveals many traces of the peculiar characteristics of her first settlers. Her people have been distinguished for a personal independence which has often crippled her united action and brought reproach upon the State. During the Revolutionary epoch she was often regarded with the mild but indulgent disapproval bestowed upon a wayward child.

Roger Williams seeks a location

Roger Williams left behind him in the Bay many warm personal friends, whose esteem he deserved and retained throughout his life. It was one of these, Winthrop, who advised him "for many high and heavenly and public ends" to make a settlement on the shores of Narragansett Bay. Williams went no further than Seekonk, where he first began his new abode; but he was within the limits of the Plymouth plantation, and Plymouth was unwilling to displease her neighbors of the Bay. Perhaps the colony experienced some personal uneasiness also. Acceding to the request of Winslow, the governor of Plymouth, Williams

[1] These sounds are always becoming interchanged. Compare Nipmuck and Nipnet, etc. Either one was a stumble at an Indian sound not reproducible.

A KEY into the

LANGUAGE OF AMERICA:

OR,

An help to the *Language* of the *Natives* in that part of AMERICA, called *NEW-ENGLAND.*

Together, with briefe *Observations* of the Customes, Manners and Worships, &c. of the aforesaid *Natives*, in Peace and Warre, in Life and Death.

On all which are added Spirituall *Observations*, Generall and Particular by the *Author*, of chiefe and speciall use (upon all occasions) to all the *English* Inhabiting those parts; yet pleasant and profitable to the view of all men.

BY ROGER WILLIAMS
of *Providence* in *New-England.*

LONDON,
Printed by *Gregory Dexter*, 1643.

TITLE-PAGE.

To my Deare and Welbeloved Friends *and* Countrey-men, *in old and new* ENGLAND.

I Present you with a *Key*; I have not heard of the like, yet framed, since it pleased God to bring that mighty *Continent* of *America* to light: Others of my Countrey-men have often, and excellently, and lately written of the *Countrey* (and none that I know beyond the goodnesse and worth of it.)

This *Key*, respects the *Native Language* of it, and happily may unlocke some *Rarities* concerning the *Natives* themselves, not yet discovered.

I drew the *Materialls* in a rude lumpe at Sea, as a private *helpe* to my owne memory, that I might not by my present ab-

 sence

FIRST PAGE OF INTRODUCTION.

(From the collection of Edward E. Ayer, Chicago, by permission.)

removed in 1636 to the present site of Providence. This and other lands were purchased of the Indians by Williams, who subsequently divided them among his followers. 1636

For the first year the government was administered by the citizens themselves in town meetings. The only officers were the town treasurer and the town clerk. The little community was a democracy of the purest and simplest type. No religious question was allowed to disturb the working of the civil government. "The masters of families, incorporated into a township," with such others as they chose to admit, were the citizens of the colony and the rulers in civil affairs. However, their devotion to the principle of liberty of conscience led them into a curious tangle. **First Providence government**

Joshua Verin, one of the five who had accompanied Williams to Providence, refused his wife permission to attend religious services so often as she was summoned or desired to go. He seems not to have objected to the services themselves, but thought that they were too frequent. To attend the services was a matter of conscience with Mistress Verin, and her husband was disfranchised for restricting liberty of conscience in his wife. It was a matter of grave discussion as to whether he deserved a wife so pious and mindful of her religious duties. Would it not be better to allow her a divorce and an opportunity to choose a less exacting mate? Upon debate it appeared, astonishing as the nonsense seems to us, that some believed this would be an equal infringement of **Does liberty of conscience include persecution?**

ARNULFO L. OLIVEIRA MEMORIAL LIBRARY

1637-8 the liberty of conscience: Verin was acting according to his own particular inner light, and should he be punished for his conduct? Would not the colony by such action be violating its own law? To make the right of forcing others' consciences a part of the liberty of the individual conscience, however, was a little too flagrant an absurdity for the major part even of this individualist band: Verin lost the franchise, and apparently lost also his lands at Providence.

Liberty vs. law The incident was the source of much amusement to the leaders of Massachusetts. To the newly founded settlement of Providence it was serious enough, however; for it was the first instance of the problem which was faced so often afterward, and which we to-day cannot claim to have solved completely,—the problem of the reconciliation of liberty and law.

In 1638 the first Baptist church was formed at Providence. The colony had not been without religious services, for Williams and one of his companions, Thomas James, were ordained ministers of the Gospel.

William Blackstone Near them also was that William Blackstone or Blaxton, who, from his home on the peninsula where Boston now stands, had welcomed the colonists of Massachusetts. As he had escaped from the lord bishops in England, so he now must needs flee from the lord brethren of the Bay. In 1634 he sold his lands and established himself on the banks of a little stream called Abbot's Run, in what is now Cumberland, R. I. Here he lived until

1675, surrounded by his books, and watching carefully the growth of his famous apple-trees. He 1637-8
was a man of strong character, deep sympathies, and broad principles, which endeared him to the Providence people, to whom he often ministered in religious matters. A still beautiful stream, crowded with mill villages for thirty miles, and a Massachusetts town upon it, commemorate his name.

New men and new ideas came into the colony of Providence during its first year. The twelve who formed the first church of Providence agreed to a suggestion which came to them out of England, that one of their number should be appointed to baptize the minister, and that he should in turn perform the rite for the members of the church. Ezekiel Holyman was selected; and after his own baptism, Williams baptized Holyman and his associates; but later he doubted the validity of the ceremony, and withdrew from communion with the church.

First year in Providence

In 1638 Williams gave equal rights in the lands purchased by him of the Indians to thirteen of his associates. From each of them he received ten shillings as a reimbursement for his expenditure in the original purchase. This amount was afterward raised to thirty shillings. There was, however, a lack of method in the assignment of the lands, and disputes were frequent. Differences arose from other causes, and the simple government first adopted was soon found to be inadequate.

Division of lands

1640 To compose these differences a change was made in 1640, when four men were chosen by the body of freemen to draw up a new constitution for the colony.[1] They presented a report in twelve articles, which provided for a body of five "disposers" or selectmen, to be chosen quarterly in a general court. To them was committed the assignment of the ungranted lands of the colony, and the settlement of disputed titles, as well as the care of the common stock. They might admit freemen upon due notice to the citizens of the colony, and were empowered to punish offenses against the peace of the state. Their meetings were held monthly, and vacancies in their body were to be filled at the quarterly general courts, when their accounts were inspected. An appeal from their decision was allowed to any general or special court.

First Providence constitution

The articles provided also for the settlement of disputes by arbitration. Each party chose two arbitrators, or if either refused to make a choice, the selectmen were empowered to appoint. In case the board of four arbitrators was divided, the selectmen might choose three men whose decision was to be final.

The system was slow and cumbrous in its workings, but was not altogether unsuited to the temper and numbers of the colony in that early day. It illustrates the extreme disfavor with which the men of Providence regarded the delegation of

[1] Robert Cole, Chad Brown, William Harris, and John Warner were the four appointed.

1640–41

Cause of Rhode Island democracy

their authority. Many of them had suffered from what they justly considered an abuse of delegated power in the colony of Massachusetts, and they determined from the first to retain the source of power within themselves; to confer authority rarely, and to keep a jealous eye upon its operation.

The success of this system of arbitration depended upon the willingness of the people to submit to its provisions. Williams has been called the "firebrand of New England"; an epithet which might be applied with more justice to Samuel Gorton, a genuine son of Ishmael, who seems to have assisted in the first attempt to resist the new constitution by violence.

Samuel Gorton

Gorton was a resident of Providence in 1641, and with one Francis Weston was active in fomenting disputes in the colony. For this and other offenses, a board of eight arbitrators duly chosen sentenced Weston to pay a fine of £15. Instead of paying the judgment, Weston wrote a scurrilous reply which was posted in the streets. An attempt was made to levy on Weston's cattle, whereupon a riot ensued and the authorities were defeated.[1]

[1] Benedict Arnold thus tells the story. "But on the 15th day of this present month (November 1641), when we went orderly, openly, and in a warrantable way to attach some of the said Francis Weston's cattle, to drive them to the pound, to make him, if it were possible, to make satisfaction, which Samuel Gorton and his company getting notice of, came and quarrelled with us in the street, and made a tumultous hubbub; and although for our parts we had beforehand most principally armed ourselves with patience peaceably to suffer as much injury as could possibly be borne, to avoid all

1641-2

The situation was repellent to all lovers of civil order and observers of the law. The direct outcome was a letter signed by thirteen of the Providence men to the governor and assistants of the Bay Colony. The turbulent condition of Providence was described, and aid was asked of Massachusetts. There was, however, no direct ground for interference in the affairs of another colony. The authorities of the Bay recommended that Providence submit to their jurisdiction or that of Plymouth as a means of escape from their difficulties. In the mean time, Williams and some of the cooler heads of the colony had succeeded in restoring peace.

Anarchy at Providence

Soon afterward Gorton and his followers removed to Pawtuxet, further down Narragansett Bay, where the strife was renewed with a far different ending. Acting upon the suggestion implied in the correspondence between the thirteen of Providence and the authorities of Massachusetts, four men of Pawtuxet placed themselves and their lands under the control of the Bay. The General Court of Massachusetts appointed them

Gorton at Pawtuxet

shedding of blood, yet some few drops of blood were shed on either side! and after the tumult was partly appeased, and that we went on orderly into the cornfield to drive the said cattle, the said Francis Weston came furiously running with a flail in his hand and cried out, "Help sirs! Help sirs! They are going to steal my cattle;" and so continued crying till Randall Holden, John Greene, and some others came running, and made a great outcry and hallooing, and crying, "Thieves! Thieves!" And so the whole number of their desperate company came riotously running, and with much striving in driving, hurried away the cattle, and then presumptuously answered that they had made a rescue, and that such should be their practice if any man, at any time, in any case, should attach anything that is theirs."

SIMPLICITIES DEFENCE

against

SEVEN-HEADED POLICY.

OR

Innocency Vindicated, being unjuſtly Accuſed, and ſorely Cenſured, by that

Seven-headed Church-Government

United in

NEW-ENGLAND:

OR

That Servant ſo Imperious in his Maſters Abſence Revived, and now thus re-acting in NEVV-ENGLAND.

OR

The combate of the United Colonies, not onely againſt ſome of the Natives and Subjects, but againſt the Authority alſo of the Kingdome of *England*, with their execution of Laws, in the name and Authority of the ſervant, (or of themſelves) and not in the Name and Authority of the Lord, or fountain of the Government.

Wherein is declared an Act of a great people and Country of the *Indians* in thoſe parts, both Princes and People (unanimouſly) in their voluntary Submiſſion and Subjection unto the Protection and Government of Old England (from the Fame they hear thereof) together with the true manner and forme of it, as it appears under their own hands and ſeals, being ſtirred up, and provoked thereto, by the Combate and courſes above-ſaid.

Throughout which Treatiſe is ſecretly intermingled, that great Oppoſition, which is in the goings forth of thoſe two grand Spirits, that are, and ever have been, extant in the World (through the ſons of men) from the beginning and foundation thereof.

Imprimatur, *Aug.* 3d. 1646. Diligently peruſed, approved, and Licenſed to the Preſſe, according to Order by publike

LONDON,

Printed by *John Macock*, and are to be ſold by LUKE FAVVNE, at his ſhop in *Pauls Church yard*, at the ſign of the *Parrot*. 1646.

FACSIMILE TITLE-PAGE OF A PAMPHLET BY SAMUEL GORTON.

(From the collection of Edward E. Ayer, Chicago, by permission.)

to the office of justices of the peace, and assumed responsibility for their acts. Massachusetts justified her unwarranted and arrogant assumption of power by declaring that her neighbors were all "anabaptists," and that they "denied all magistrates and churches." "Their government was no government, and grew very offensive." There were other reasons of a political nature. Massachusetts coveted the valley of the Connecticut and the shores of Narragansett Bay. By affording protection to the petitioners of Pawtuxet her own jurisdiction might be extended, new lines of trade opened, and a strong base of operations secured in case of a war with the Indians.

1642–3

Massachusetts annexes Pawtuxet

The traces of this usurpation by Massachusetts were not removed for sixteen years. One of the immediate results was the removal of the unhappy Gorton from Pawtuxet to the region called Shawomet, where the town later called Warwick was founded in 1643. Moreover, the impending danger to the individual life of the Narragansett colonies quieted their internal dissensions, allayed external jealousies, and impressed upon them the necessity of united action.

Warwick founded

The union of the colonies of New England which had been proposed at various times since 1637 was now about to be accomplished. Connecticut, Plymouth, and Massachusetts surrounded the Narragansett colonies, and were disposed to annex their territories if good reason for such action could be found. It was necessary, therefore, that something should be done which would

New England Union

protect them from external enemies and internal
1643 dissension. Some official recognition of their settlements must be secured from the English government.

Early in 1643 Roger Williams set sail from New Amsterdam to England in a Dutch vessel, a
Williams obtains patent for Providence passage through Massachusetts being refused him. When he reached England he found that many of his friends had risen to high places in the government. Moreover, his own doctrines of religious toleration were approved and advocated in official circles. The Board of Trade and Plantations appointed by Charles I. had been replaced by a parliamentary committee with the Earl of Warwick as its head, and from this committee Williams obtained a patent for the organization of the colonies of Narragansett Bay upon the broad principles of the Providence foundation.

Williams arrived in England not a moment too soon. About three months before the Providence charter was granted, the parliamentary committee had bestowed upon Massachusetts a large part
Conflicting Massachusetts patent of the territory bordering upon Narragansett Bay. The terms of this patent and that granted to Williams were directly contradictory, and the Providence patent bore the later date; but no serious consequences resulted. It is possible that the intention had been merely to confirm the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over her own people who had settled in the Narragansett country.

The year so happily spent by Williams in London was the same in which the Confederacy

of New England was brought into final form. From this union, however, the colonists of Rhode Island were excluded, on the narrow ground that their religious differences weakened their civil government, and made them unfit associates for their more law-abiding neighbors. Yet their assistance, in one respect at least, promised to be of more value than that of any other colony. Their relations with the Narragansett Indians had been of the most friendly character. They had protected the neighboring colonies, and had directed Indian politics most wisely. Sound public policy would have recommended and enforced their admission into the union.

1643–7

Rhode Island barred from New England Union

Meanwhile the Providence settlement was increasing, because of the natural advantages of the site and the spirit of freedom which characterized the management of its political affairs. Turbulence and disorder were not easily removed, but there was a gradual adjustment of natural relations which promised peace and prosperity for the future. The towns of Narragansett Bay were becoming better acquainted, the fire of personal and religious difference was burning itself away. Men who could not agree were separating, and each was founding his own little settlement wherein action was practically unfettered. In many cases the most extreme theorists came to realize that those doctrines which had once meant everything to them were, in the last analysis, comparatively unimportant. Unopposed for a time, they became more moderate in their views.

Progress toward harmony

1643-6

This change was now operating in Rhode Island and Providence, but as yet there was much of the old spirit of strife and dissension. The necessity of union was forced upon the inhabitants by outward events, but they yielded reluctantly and incompletely.

It was more than three years before advantage was taken of the patent which Williams had brought with him upon his return in triumph from England. He had sailed from New Amsterdam, but returned to Boston with a letter from England recommending a healing of differences, and requesting that a free passage be given him through the territories of the Bay Colony. But to Massachusetts he was still a "firebrand unquenched." They grudgingly granted him permission to pass quietly through their lands. Upon the other question they took their former stand. Williams had not receded from his position as a "dangerous separatist."

Williams excluded from Massachusetts

We are ignorant of the processes and discussions by which the inhabitants of the various settlements came to a final acceptance of the idea of union under the Parliamentary patent. Evidently, there were misgivings and uncertainties before any action was begun.

May 16, 1647, a town meeting was held at Providence over which Roger Williams presided. Williams himself and nine others were chosen to represent the town at a meeting to be held at Portsmouth, May 18, for the formation of a government under the patent. The committee was

Meeting to organize under patent

given full power to represent the town, and their action was to be accepted as that of the community. The future history of Providence is a part of that of the Providence Plantations. 1638–47

When the Hutchinsonians fled from the wrath of the Massachusetts General Court, some of them proposed to found a colony north of the Bay. The severity of the following winter caused them to change their plans; and turning southward under the leadership of John Clark and William Coddington, they sought for a favorable location on the Delaware or Long Island. Hutchinsonians flee from Massachusetts

On their journey they stopped at Providence, and Roger Williams urged them to plant on the shores of Narragansett Bay. By the intercession of Vane and Williams they were able to purchase of the Indians the beautiful island of Aquidneck, upon the northeastern point of which they established a settlement known by the Indian name of Pocasset, which they afterward changed to Portsmouth.

On the 7th of March, 1638, they organized a body politic, to be governed by the laws of God as expressed "in his holy word of truth." Like the New Haven colonists, they formed a religious state, but a state in which all Christians might worship as conscience dictated. Such an experiment, conducted by men of previous experiences such as theirs, was likely to be of doubtful outcome. To some of their number at least, the laws of England were far more suitable as the basis of a state than the laws of Moses. This opinion, Found Portsmouth, R. I.

as we shall see, was productive of some interesting results.

There was a wide difference between the underlying principles of Portsmouth and Providence. At Providence no man was questioned as to his religion. He might be of any sect or no sect, and still become a citizen of that colony. Portsmouth, on the contrary, recognized the Mosaic code and the Christian religion as the foundation of the commonwealth. The Portsmouth colonies were of a more conservative and less turbulent temper than those of Providence. There was greater respect for law and a more stable government. For a time the island colonists grew more rapidly than those of the mainland.

Portsmouth a theocracy

Nineteen men signed the compact under which the new state was organized. Most of them had been included in the famous "disarming act" of Massachusetts, and ten of them were banished formally from that colony. Of the nineteen, William Hutchinson died on the island. Two Hutchinsons, each Edward by name, with Savage and Aspinwall, returned to Massachusetts, where they regained their former standing in the community.

At this same meeting in Portsmouth the nineteen signers chose William Dyer for clerk; William Aspinwall for secretary; and for their chief executive or judge William Coddington, who immediately thereafter took the oath of office, by which he bound himself "to do justice and judgment according to the laws of God, and to maintain the fundamental rights and privileges of the

First organization

body politic which shall hereafter be ratified according to God." 1638–9

The growth of the colony was satisfactory from the beginning. Freemen were admitted by the consent of the whole body, upon taking an oath to observe the laws. Lands were assigned in six-acre lots to the original purchasers; but the growth of the colony was so rapid that this amount was soon reduced to three acres, for which the newcomers paid two shillings an acre. The commons were assigned upon the basis of the number of cattle pastured by each man. Provisions were made for the military organization, equipment, and training of all the male inhabitants between the ages of sixteen and fifty. Roads were planned and a ferry established. A prison, twelve feet by ten, was built, and stocks, of which they soon had need for the punishment of five of the inhabitants who had indulged in a "riot of drunkenness." Early Portsmouth, R. I.

A change was made in the government in 1639, by the association of three of the elders as magistrates with the judge, for the framing and execution of the laws. These officers were accountable to the quarterly General Courts, by which their acts might be annulled or reversed. Soon afterward a constable and sergeant were chosen for the colony; the duty of the former being to prevent unlawful meetings and anything tending to civil disturbance, while the sergeant was to serve the writs and execute the decrees of the court. The appointment of the first of these officers,

1639

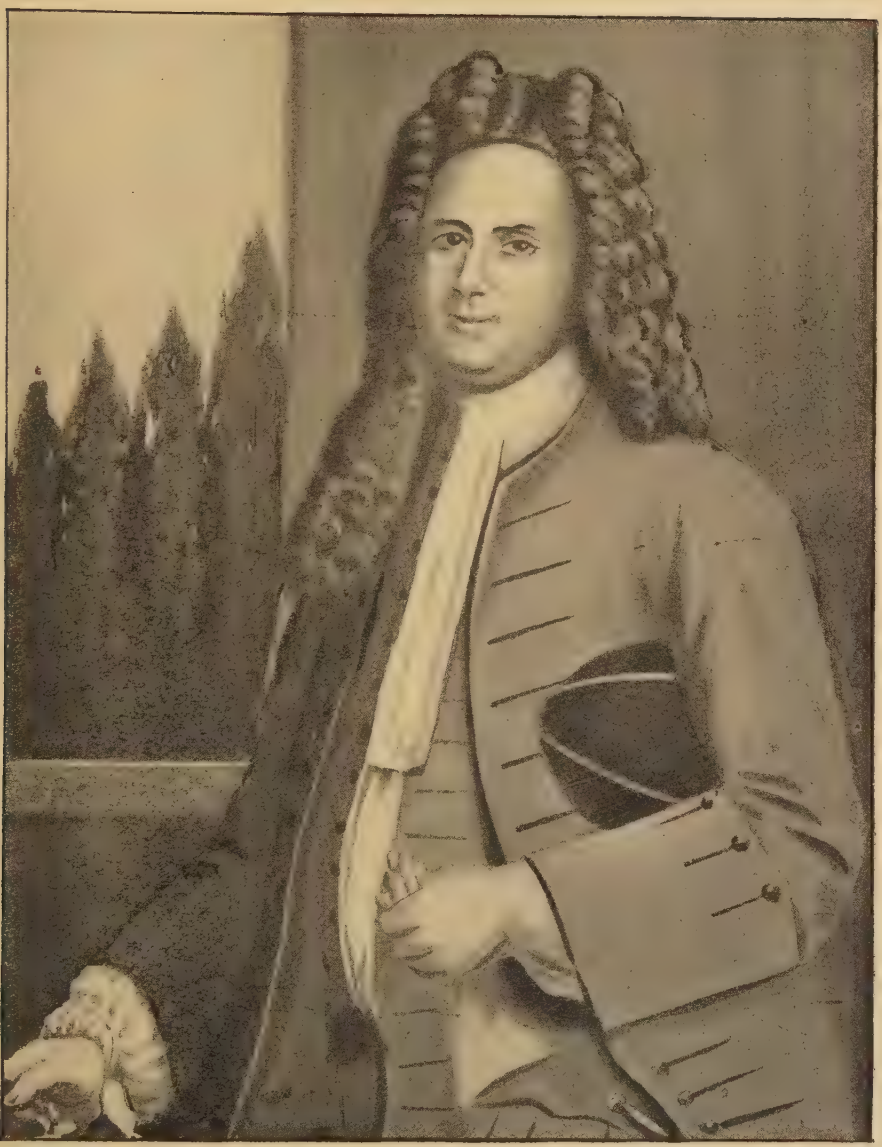
and one or two entries in the records, suggest the dissensions in the colony which were to result later in a division, and the planting of that resort of wealth and fashion of the western continent, Newport.

Winthrop on Pocasset (Portsmouth)

Winthrop, who was a prejudiced but generally honest critic, seldom had a good word for the Narragansett colonies. Commenting on this peculiar event, he says, "At Aquiday the people grew very tumultuous, and put out Mr. Coddington and the other three magistrates, and chose Mr. William Hutchinson only; a man of a very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife, who had been the beginner of all the former troubles in the country, and still continued to breed disturbance." Winthrop's burdens had been vastly increased by that unhappy year of Vane's governorship, and it is not remarkable that no bit of evidence escaped him which could support the opinion he was known to hold of the Antinomian faction. But in this case, as usual, his statements seem to be warranted by other extant evidence.

Pocasset removes officially

On the 28th of April, 1639, all of the officers of Pocasset and the chief men, but a minority in numbers, agreed to plant a colony elsewhere on the island. They took with them the records, leaving the Pocasset colonists without a government. Two days later those who remained organized a civil body politic, acknowledging themselves to be subject to the king and the laws of the realm. There were thirty-one signers to this agreement.



GOVERNOR WILLIAM CODDINGTON.

Among them were William Hutchinson, John Wickes, Samuel Gorton, and William Aspinwall. 1639
A governor, probably William Hutchinson, was chosen, and seven Assistants, who constituted a court for the trial of minor causes. Quarterly general courts with jury trials were established.

Pocasset remnant signs compact

The names of the signers and their subsequent and previous history, together with Winthrop's acccount, give us some insight into the causes of the division of the colony and the secession of its chief men. The idea of a state upon the Biblical model had long existed in England, where the strong hand of Cromwell was required for its suppression. In New England, where there was nothing to prevent the experiment, it was tried in various forms and with varying results. It was as evident, however, then as now, that the days of Mosaic government had passed. Freedom of interpretation multiplied sects, and a very babel ensued. Fifth-monarchy men, Familists, Levellers, Come-outers, Seekers, offered each in turn to furnish the only satisfactory model for the regulation of social and political relations. Had all the experiments been tried, the political world would have been turned upside down, and anarchy would have resulted.

New England experiments in theocracy

Here and there strong men, far-seeing souls, half caught the true solution as it appeared dimly through the mists of old theory and older practice. Men in general could conceive with difficulty that a state and church could exist separately—rather, must exist separately if each was to perform its

1633–9

functions successfully. The New England colonies reached this solution, some by a vigorous application of intolerant laws which wrought the remedy in the process, others by an early adoption of the principle of separation with its attendant disturbance.

Pocasset factions

These theories among others were at work in the disturbance at Pocasset. Coddington and his associates wished to continue the religious community as established by the nineteen signers of the compact of 1638. Others would separate the two functions, founding the state upon the political privileges of Englishmen and the laws of England. It was this faction which remained at Pocasset.

Newport founded

There is evidence somewhat stronger than tradition which places the founding of Newport on May 1, or the third day after the separation. On the 16th of May the plantation is referred to as "now begun." The name of Newport was given, and the boundary toward Pocasset was a line drawn northeastward across the island five miles from Newport. Home lots of five acres were assigned, and the plantations allotted. The judge and elders held court on the first Tuesday in each month. The General Courts or town meetings were held quarterly, and were presided over by the judge, who was allowed two votes. Trade with the Indians was unrestricted, and all the fishing grounds were declared free to the inhabitants. At the quarterly court in January 1639, the 12th day of March was fixed as the time for the general

election of officers. Freemen who could not be present were allowed to send their votes sealed, to the judge. 1639

The two communities had now existed separately for nearly a year. Some of the inhabitants of Newport still held their lands in Pocasset, while men of Pocasset had been admitted free to Newport, though not residing within the limits of the town. It was evidently for the best interests of all that their differences be forgotten, and a union formed for mutual support. Though outcasts from Massachusetts, they had the friendship of men high in power in England, through whom they hoped to secure official recognition for the new colony. On the 25th day of November, 1639, William Easton and John Clark were directed to write to Sir Henry Vane to enlist his influence in procuring a patent. At the same meeting the sovereignty of the king and the subjection of the colony to the laws of England were recognized.

Pocasset rejoins Newport seceders

The first general election held in Newport was the occasion of the formal reunion. William Hutchinson, the judge of the Portsmouth colony, William Balston, Richard Carder, Randall Holden, and six other prominent men of Portsmouth, were "readily embraced" by the freemen of Newport. The officers of the new government were to be a governor, deputy, and four assistants, to be chosen equally from the two settlements. For the first year Coddington of Newport was elected governor, with Nicholas Easton and John Coggeshall Assistants from Newport. William Brenton,

First election in Portsmouth colony

1639 William Hutchinson, and John Porter of Portsmouth were chosen to the offices of deputy-governor and Assistants. These officers were made justices of the peace in their respective towns, and committees were appointed to lay out and apportion the lands.

Particular courts were to be held in each settlement on the first Tuesday of each month. The laws previously adopted were revised; measures of protection against the Indians adopted; and the towns were allowed to draw equal amounts from the treasury, which was controlled by two treasurers, one from each town. Two General Courts were established, to be held on Wednesday after the 12th of March and the 12th of October, alternately in Portsmouth and Newport. The courts of quarter sessions were held in each town, to try causes involving life or limb and to hear appeals in minor causes from the "particular courts" of the towns.

Government of Portsmouth colony

By this union the settlements were freed from disputes incident to a divided jurisdiction and the common possession of lands. The people were free to develop, under a form of government which allowed the widest liberty of personal opinion consistent with due observance of personal rights and proper respect for law.

Moreover, the danger of an Indian outbreak was ever present, and only united action could meet or prevent it. The Narragansett colonies had less to fear, perhaps, than the rest of New England, but they were weakest and were resting

under the heavy curse of Antinomianism. Coddington united with the governors of New Haven and Connecticut, in a letter to Massachusetts asking information regarding the attitude of that colony toward the Indians. The letter declared the joint authors' "dislike of such as would have the Indians rooted out," and their "desire of mutual accord in seeking to gain them by justice and kindness." The General Court of Massachusetts agreed with the sentiments expressed, but addressed their reply to Mr. Eaton, Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Haynes, "only excluding Mr. Coddington and Mr. Brenton, as men not to be capitulated with by us, either for themselves or the people of the island where they inhabit, as their case standeth."

1640–1

Intercolonial Indian correspondence

The General Court of 1641 was held at Portsmouth, where during the three-day session a remarkable declaration of political faith was adopted. "It is ordered and unanimously agreed upon, that the Government which this Bodie Politick doth attend to in this Island and the Jurisdiction thereof, in favour of our Prince is a *Democracie* or Popular Government; that is to say, It is in the Powre of the Body of Freemen orderly assembled, or the major part of them, to make or constitute Juste Laws, by which they will be regulated, and to depute from among themselves such Ministers as shall see them faithfully executed between Man and Man." The second great principle of the Portsmouth foundation was expressed in a law "that none be accounted a Delinquent for

Portsmouth declares itself a democracy

Doctrine; Provided it be not directly repugnant to the Government or Lawes established."

Upon these two general statements the structure of the colony of Rhode Island rested. This little community of religious outcasts, surrounded by envious and malevolent neighbors, took higher ground than had before been occupied by any political organization. Had they conformed to the custom of the times, and adopted the rules of government prevalent elsewhere in New England, they would have removed dissent from among them, and the Confederacy would have admitted them gladly to a share in the protection which it afforded to its members.

Basis of Rhode Island's being

By such a change, however, every principle which they had held would have been sacrificed, and in all probability their own individuality would have been destroyed by the adoption of their body into some of the more powerful neighboring colonies. In time the dissentient elements were removed, animosities and enmities disappeared, and Rhode Island became noted through New England for her sturdy if somewhat turbulent independence.

Another act, passed with the above laws, shows a determination to protect the rights of the individual to an unusual degree. Landed property, the qualification for voting, and the characteristics of the freemen, was made "soe free that neyther the State, nor any Person or Persons shall intrude into it." Property in land was confirmed to the owner, "to him, or his, or to whomsoever he shall

Land-holding protected

assign it forever." In other words, ownership of land could not be disturbed by any process so long as the owner remained within the jurisdiction of the state. This rule prevailed until the adoption of the Rhode Island constitution in 1843, and with some modifications in practice, to the revision of the Rhode Island code in 1858. 1643–7

From 1643 to the attempt to organize a permanent government under the parliamentary patent in 1647, the history of the Narragansett Bay settlements is obscure. The towns differed in their theories of government, and there were dissentient parties within the towns themselves. Some of the inhabitants doubtless contrasted unfavorably their uncertain state with the comparative strength of the other colonies under the newly formed confederation, and being separated by no marked religious differences, were not averse to acknowledging the jurisdiction of Massachusetts or Plymouth. The feeling of local independence was strong also, and operated to prevent an effective union. The patent of 1643 was but the first step in the process of unification, which was not complete until confirmed by the charter of Charles II. Disunion in Narragansett colonies

Of all those who suffered, justly or unjustly, under the New England system, the most contradictory character is Samuel Gorton, a genuine product of the times. He was a man of good education, of ability and determination, but totally lacking in the qualities of patience, moderation, and discretion. Strong in argument, no mean antagonist in the fine-spun theological discussions Samuel Gorton

1636–43

of his day, with notions of religious theory and practice of the sort most maddening to the religious leaders of the Massachusetts colony, and with political theories which prevented him from uniting fully with his neighbors, he was for some years an outcast from all New England.

Gorton landed in Boston in 1636, but soon after removed to Plymouth, where "he gave some hopes of becoming a useful instrument." Here he became involved in a violent quarrel, primarily over religious matters, but his conduct in court was so outrageous that he was compelled to leave Plymouth. He went to Aquidneck, where he was received kindly, but for offenses similar to those at Plymouth was publicly whipped and banished. Soon after, he was "madding poor Providence" to such an extent that Roger Williams and others threatened to leave the colony if he were given the franchise. We next find him at Pawtuxet, whence he removed to Shawomet, where lands were bought of Miantonomo as overlord of the land; and the purchase was witnessed by one at least of the two local chiefs. Gorton and his followers supposed these lands to be without the jurisdiction of the colonies then established, and looked for a termination of their troubles. Their security was but fancied, and was of short duration.

Gorton a general nuisance

William Arnold, one of the six at Pawtuxet who had submitted to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, had bought land of Seconoco, an under chief, who was with Pomham the actual possessor

of the lands bought by Gorton. In 1643 this same William Arnold, with two others of Massachusetts, were appointed to visit the Gorton lands to investigate matters; and other commissioners were chosen to treat with Pomham and Seconoco concerning their submission to the Bay Colony. The local chiefs denied that they had received any part of the purchase money, and claimed that their consent to the sale was from fear of the revenge of Miantonomo. They submitted themselves, their lands, and their fortunes to the protection of Massachusetts.

1643

Gorton's purchase discredited

The next General Court announced this submission to Gorton and his friends, and summoned them to answer for injuries done to both English and Indians within the newly acquired jurisdiction. To this request they returned "most insolent, scornful, scurrilous speeches," in which they affirmed the validity of their purchase, and condemned the method by which Massachusetts had extended her jurisdiction over them. A commission was then sent to Shawomet, with a guard of forty men; ostensibly to protect the persons of the commissioners, but in reality to arrest the Gortonists and bring them to Massachusetts for trial. Upon reaching Shawomet some days were spent in fruitless negotiations, terminating in the siege and surrender of the offenders. The prisoners were taken to Boston, with all the outward evidences of a triumph, and tried by the general court upon the charges of blasphemy and sedition. For a time Gorton's death was insisted upon as

Gorton's company seized

1643–4

the only adequate punishment for his offenses; but the deputies dissenting, the prisoners were distributed among the towns to be employed at hard labor during the pleasure of the court. It was provided further that if any of them made an attempt to escape, or to propagate his religious opinions or political theories, he should upon conviction of the fact be sentenced to death. The cattle and property seized at Shawomet were sold to pay the expenses of the trial and to contribute toward the maintenance of the prisoners.

Gorton and his band punished

For the time Massachusetts had won. The homes of a dozen settlers, whose worst offense was the license of their speech, had been broken up; women and children had been driven to the hardships of Indian life, from which several deaths resulted, but the heretics were dispersed and the Bay Colony had gained a valuable tract of land. Gorton and his friends were released in January 1644, upon the condition that they remove from the territories of Massachusetts, including their former homes, and from the lands about Providence. They were allowed fourteen days in which to comply with the decree of the court; and a violation of it meant death, as later in the case of the Quakers. The fugitives went first to Shawomet, where they collected such of their property as remained after the raid of the Massachusetts soldiers; later they found an asylum and support in Rhode Island.

Set free but banished

Gorton had no idea of giving up the contest, though badly defeated in the first encounter.

During all his difficulties he had insisted upon his right of appeal to the Crown. The Narragansett Indians were persuaded to make a formal submission to the English king, and this Gorton was to present at the English court. On his own account he had a long list of complaints against the colony of Massachusetts. From the view-point of an English Crown lawyer, Gorton could present a very strong case; and the colony prepared for the attack by sending Edward Winslow as a special commissioner to represent their version.

1644

Gorton in England

The English government in 1644 had but little time to give to colonial affairs, but Gorton was supported by the Parliamentary commissioners in his claim to the lands at Shawomet, while the question of jurisdiction was deferred until more complete information could be obtained. By the favor of the commissioners, Gorton was allowed to pass through the territories of Massachusetts on his return from England. There was indeed some question as to the wisdom of the step, and some debate concerning the authority of the English government over the Bay Colony, but both parties had profited by the appeal to England.

Reinstated in land

The incorporation of Gorton's settlement, now called Warwick in honor of the Earl, into the Providence plantations, supplied the legal authority for which Gorton and his followers had contended, and reconciled them to their nearest neighbors. Gorton remained at Warwick, representing his town repeatedly as one of its commissioners under the Providence government; and

Warwick annexed to Providence

lived to become a "useful instrument" in the community he had so sorely disturbed. The old imperious manner and ungovernable temper showed itself at times during the later troubles of the settlement, but the outbreaks were neither violent nor prolonged. The battle with Massachusetts still went on, but on the whole the honors of war rested with Samuel Gorton. The commonwealth of the Bay, in the excess of her religious zeal, had magnified minor offenses into serious crimes, and seeking to act justly had wrought injustice.

Gorton's later years

On his return from England, Roger Williams had been met at Seekonk by his friends, in fourteen canoes, and conducted in triumph to Providence. He was "elevated and transported out of himself" by this demonstration, and by the prospect of a speedy end to all their troubles. The settlements had been recognized by the highest authority in England, and permission had been given to incorporate them into a single government, under an instrument which confirmed their political and religious theories. No mention was made of religion, the charter affecting civil government alone. The only restriction imposed was that the laws of the colony should conform to those of England as nearly as circumstances would permit.

Patent for Narragansett colonies

There was, however, serious opposition from within and without to be overcome, before the new government could operate successfully. Massachusetts redoubled her efforts to extend her

jurisdiction over the Narragansett country. Plymouth was active in stirring up opposition to the charter in the towns. Perhaps also the spirits of the hitherto despised outcasts were elated unduly over the small measure of favor which they had obtained; for internal turbulence apparently increased rather than diminished. The leaders of Newport were manifesting a distrust of the less prominent element in the colony, and were inclined to accept the jurisdiction of Plymouth or Massachusetts. 1646–7

In 1647, however, it was possible to organize the government under the Parliamentary patent. The executive officers were a president and four Assistants; one from each of the towns of Providence, Newport, Portsmouth, and Warwick. A committee of the General Court was formed, to consist of six commissioners from each town to act in the recesses of the General Court. Measures intended to become laws might be submitted to the towns for preliminary action, and the results sent to these commissioners. If it appeared that a majority in each town approved the proposed law, it became effective until the next meeting of the General Court. Trial courts were to be held semi-annually, to decide cases involving life or limb or civil rights. Government within the towns was modified only in a minor degree. The general government was strong enough to excite opposition, but lacked the vigor to remove it. Union of Rhode Island settlements

The pretensions of Plymouth and the claims of Massachusetts under the Narragansett patent

1638–51 threatened the existence of the newly incorporated colony. These attacks might have been parried successfully; but before a trial of strength could be made, the government was dissolved by the secession of its largest and most wealthy member.

The colony of Newport was founded by those who protested against the greater freedom of Portsmouth and Providence. Since the reunion of Newport and Portsmouth, the former had dominated in politics on the Island. In 1648 Coddington and Partridge applied to the New England Confederacy for admission into that body, but membership was denied except upon the condition of their submission to the jurisdiction of Plymouth or Massachusetts. To this the greater number of the Island colonists seem to have agreed. The mainland towns, however, objected so strongly to the measure that it was defeated.

Secession of the Island

Failing in this attempt to secure the independence of Portsmouth and Newport, Coddington went to England in 1649, returning in the summer of 1651 with a commission appointing him governor of Rhode Island and Conanicut for life, thus destroying the government established in 1647. Meanwhile, the disorder in the government continued. At the second election Coddington had been elected president, but had refused to accept. There were cases of fraudulent voting, and attendance upon the General Courts was irregular. The disinclination to hold office was so great that fines were levied upon those who sought to escape their civil duties.

With the nullification of the patent by the granting of Coddington's commission, the condition of the mainland settlements became, if possible, more critical than before. A number of the Rhode Island people, however, opposed the unlimited tenure of power given to Coddington, and united with Providence and Warwick in the appointment of special agents to the English government. Newport sent John Clarke to obtain a revocation of Coddington's patent; and the mainland colonies again called upon Roger Williams to procure for them a charter, under which they might organize without reference to Portsmouth or Newport.

1651

Narragansett colonies wish to separate

The committee of the Council of State listened favorably to Clarke's representation of the condition on Rhode Island, and granted his petition. Williams renewed his old intimacy with Vane, enjoyed a pleasant and profitable intercourse with John Milton; and joining his efforts with those of Clarke, procured instructions directing the reorganization of the government under the previous patent.

Williams obtains new patent

Sir Henry Vane had taken more than an ordinary interest in these colonies since their foundation, and he now wrote to them condemning their "headiness and tumults" in unsparing terms. "Is not the fear and awe of God amongst you to restrain? Are there no wise men among you; no public, self-denying spirits, that can find some way or means of union and reconciliation before you become a prey to common enemies?"

1651–4 For a time the advice of Vane, and others of a like mind, had little effect. The Island towns and those of the mainland had separate governments, and each claimed to be the only one authorized by law and the charter. The numbers and wealth of Newport and Portsmouth gave them, as they conceived, a precedence over Providence and Warwick; but the latter had not forsaken the charter government until forced to do so by the Coddington secession.

Rhode Island and the Dutch

Meanwhile the relations of the colonies to New England and to each other were complicated by the Dutch war. The Dutch and English colonies were neither prepared for war nor desired it. Providence was content to follow the conservative policy of peace adopted by the New England Confederacy, and confined her activities to preparations for defense. The military spirit was strong in Rhode Island, however, and Newport adopted an aggressive policy. Commissions were issued to vessels to operate against the Dutch, courts of admiralty were established, and preparations made to assist the English settlements on Long Island. Finding few Dutch vessels to capture, their privateers seized a French ship, and one of Barnstable; and later took one lawful prize into a Connecticut port, which was at once blockaded by the Dutch.

In 1654 the different elements in the colony once more united under a single government. Some longer time was required to restore order in the different settlements, where public business had been greatly interrupted or suspended. The

old arguments against all forms of restraint were heard, calling forth from Williams a strong and complete definition of his doctrine of liberty. He had been a leader of the opposition and the government, and had experienced hardships in both positions. Time had, to some extent, modified his views and ripened his judgment. The occasion of this letter from Williams to the town of Providence was another letter, affirming that "it was blood-guiltiness and against the rule of the gospel to execute judgment upon transgressors against the public or private weal." Williams replied:

1654

Williams' letter to Providence

"That ever I should speak or write a letter that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience is a mistake, and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I at present shall only propose this case. There goes many a ship to sea with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth or society. It hath fallen out sometimes that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal, I affirm that all the liberty of conscience that I ever pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges; that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, nor compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practice any. I further add that I never denied that, notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command that justice, peace, and sobriety be kept and

Defines liberty

practiced both among the seamen and all the pas-
1654 sengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their service, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help, in person or in purse, toward the common charges or defence; if any re-
Liberty not anarchy fuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship concerning their common peace and preservation; if any should mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any should preach or write that there ought to be no commanders nor officers because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers, no laws nor orders, no corrections nor punishments; I say, I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel, and punish such transgressors according to their deserts and merits. This, if seriously and honestly mended, may, if it please the Father of Lights, let in some light to such as willingly shut not their eyes."

No single action or letter could change at once the habits of years. The disorder continued with
Arrest of an anarchist more or less harmful effects. The old order was fully established, however, by the elections of 1654. The next year Coddington made his submission; but later another serious quarrel arose between Williams and William Harris, whose conscience could not "yield subjection to any human order among men." Williams, as president of the colony, ordered the arrest of Harris upon charge of high treason. All the documents in the case were sent to England; and Harris was

released, upon bonds to keep the peace, until the decision of the English authorities could be obtained. By the advice of Clarke the case was dropped; but the bitter feeling between Harris and Williams was never entirely removed. 1651–6

The prosecution of the Quakers began in Massachusetts in 1656. The commissioners of the New England Confederacy, and the colonies separately, were insistent in their demands that Rhode Island remove the Quakers from their territories. That colony refused to abandon the ground she had taken. So long as civil government was not molested, and often when its very existence was doubtful, Rhode Island refused to sanction any measures which could give color to a charge of intolerance in religious matters.

Rhode Island refuses to interfere with Quakers

In 1651, when ill-feeling between Massachusetts and the Gortonists was extreme, the same William Arnold who expressed the policy of Rhode Island toward the Quakers wrote to Massachusetts concerning Gorton and his followers: "Some of them of Shawomet that cryeth out much against them which putteth to death for witches, say there be no other witches upon earth nor devils, but your own pastors and ministers and such as they are." Allowing for the personal feeling expressed, the Rhode-Islanders were still of the opinion that there were no witches upon the earth, and that the Quakers could be silenced best by refusing to persecute them.

Arnold decries witchcraft

That toleration which made Rhode Island the home of other outcasts of New England, attracted

1656–60

the Quakers also. Moreover, the other colonies, when expelling Quakers from their territories, sometimes directed them to Rhode Island. Thus it happened that the number of Quakers was considerable; and when the prosecution began, recruits were found there for the ranks of the missionaries. The New England commissioners urged Rhode Island to expel the Quakers, and thus remove from their neighbors one source of contagion. William Arnold, the president of Rhode Island, in a letter to Massachusetts, expressed a desire to live on good terms with the neighboring colonies, and agreed to return criminals adding:

Rhode Island asked to bar out Quakers

"As regards the Quakers, we have no law among us whereby to punish any for only declaring by words their minds and understandings concerning the ways and things of God as to salvation and an eternal condition. We find that these people least desire to come where they can declare themselves freely, and are opposed only by arguments in discourse, and we are informed that they begin to loathe this place because they are not opposed by civil power, but are suffered to say what they please. We find they delight to be persecuted by the civil power, and when they are, they gain more by the sight of their patient sufferings than by consent to their pernicious doctrines."

Refuses

It would have been well for the reputation of Massachusetts had she adopted and acted upon the doctrines contained in this letter. It should be understood, however, that the fanaticism upon the one side was no less than the bigotry on the other.

Offenses against public order, actions which would justify prosecutions as a common nuisance, and others which indicated insanity, were unfortunately raised to the dignity of serious crimes and punished as heresy. 1656-60

The Quaker tenets had many supporters in Rhode Island. Mary Dyer, the wife of William Dyer, one of the prominent men of the Island; Catherine Scott, the sister of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, and wife of one of Williams' old companions; and a Mrs. Gardner of Newport, were among those who fell victims to their own zeal and the wrath of Massachusetts. Quakers in Rhode Island

Upon the death of the Protector and the accession of his son Richard, the colony of Providence solicited a continuance of the favors which they had formerly received, describing themselves as "this poore collony of Providence Plantations which mostly consists of a birth and breeding of the providence of the most high; wee being an outcast people formerly from our mother nation in the Bishop's daies, and since from the rest of the new English over-zealous collonys." They claimed that their government was upon the English model, and attributed their unpopularity among their neighbors to the general rule of toleration which they observed. But the English government was in the process of disintegration, and its elements were forming new combinations which led eventually to the Restoration. No one had time or interest for the weal or woe of an insignificant plantation in America. Letter to Richard Cromwell

1655–60 Meanwhile John Winthrop, Humphrey Atherton, and others, had purchased of the Narragansett Indians a tract of land about twelve miles long on the western shore of Narragansett Bay. This purchase, together with the lands obtained later, was to prove the cause of a long and serious dispute between Rhode Island and her neighbors.

Atherton Company

The old quarrel of the Narragansett Indians with the Mohegan tribe and the Indians of Long Island had not been settled. Rhode Island had suggested, but without effect, that the hostile Indian tribes be allowed to settle their differences by an appeal to arms. In 1660 the Narragansetts were accused of injuries to the Mohegans, and to the English settlements within their territories which were under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. They denied the charge; but the evidence was considered to be strong enough to warrant the assessment of a fine of nearly six hundred fathoms of wampum, which was to be paid within four months. When the payment became due, the Indians, unable to meet it, mortgaged their lands to the Atherton Company and secured an extension of time for payment. The next year, failing again to redeem the mortgage, the lands were deeded formally by the Indians to the company, thus establishing a fertile source of future trouble.

Obtains mortgaged lands

The accession of Charles II. was published promptly in Rhode Island, and instructions were sent to Clarke, still their agent in London, to procure a confirmation of the former patent. Meanwhile a dispute had arisen out of the purchase

and settlement of lands by Rhode Island on the eastern bank of the Pawcatuck River. Massachusetts advanced an old claim to these lands by right of conquest in the Pequot war, and organized them into a township called Southertown, which was united to the county of Suffolk. Some of the Rhode Island settlers were arrested and taken to Boston for trial, and afterward placed under heavy bonds to keep the peace. Massachusetts sought to obtain from Rhode Island a disavowal of the Pawcatuck settlement; but failing, promptly extended her jurisdiction over the disputed territory under the Narragansett patent of 1643. Rhode Island was not to be intimidated or forced into a surrender of what she deemed to be her lawful rights. Massachusetts was informed of her intention to support the Pawcatuck settlers, and was warned to make no settlements in the disputed lands pending an appeal to the king.

1660–2

Struggle over Pawcatuck

In 1662 Rhode Island discontinued the use of Indian wampum, and decreed that thereafter all taxes and court costs should be paid in coin. Land holdings and titles were so confused that a law was passed vesting ownership in whoever, then in possession, should record his claim within thirteen months. Other measures were taken to systematize the workings of the government and laws. The chief obstacle to the successful establishment of civil order in Rhode Island had been the lack of organization. Single settlers or small groups had no need for other than family government, or ordinary regard for personal rights. There was no

New laws

bond of union like that of church membership in the other New England colonies. The poverty of the colonists compelled them to provide for personal rather than civic needs. Extreme freedom in all matters strengthened the habit of individual action.

Centrifugal forces in Rhode Island

With the stronger government under the new charter of Rhode Island, the period of real development into a homogeneous state begins. The storms of opposition abated, and after a time passed away. Rhode Island entered upon a new career, with the great principles of toleration, and separation of state and church, firmly incorporated as a part of her colonial life.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CATHOLIC ENDEAVOR

Already before the planting of New Sweden on the Delaware, another and still more successful experiment in American colonization had been made on the upper Chesapeake Bay. The James River settlement struggled on through its first quarter-century before permanency was achieved by the second English colony within the old London Company grant of "Virginia." At the end of that time, in 1632, a charter was issued by Charles I. to Sir Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, as the successor of his more distinguished father, Sir George Calvert, first of the Baltimores.

Maryland

In the early history of North America, the impulses of Protestantism were much more distinctly felt, much more effective, than were those of the Ancient Church. True, the permanent colonization of Florida was first effected by the Catholics. True, the French Catholics succeeded first in the valley of the St. Lawrence. But between these two extremes only the Protestants were active in the earlier colonial age. It remained for the Calverts of Kipling, in Yorkshire, to take up the cause of the Catholics—for the Catholics had need.

English Catholicism not active in colonizing

The period here under consideration was about the middle of the Thirty Years' War. At this

time, just before Gustavus' death, the almost exterminated Protestantism of the Continent was taking new life; but its danger and its success alike increased the heaviness of the hand laid on the Catholics in England. Still, they never wholly lacked favor at court after Elizabeth's death, unless in the first horror of the Gunpowder Plot. James' irritation at the anti-royalism of the Scotch Protestants made him look kindly on a class which at least was fervently royalist in theory, even if it might object to a particular sovereign; and with the accession of Charles I. and his Catholic wife the court spirit became far more markedly favorable to them. There was always a large Catholic faction strongly on his side—a fact which alienated a much stronger volume of Protestant sympathy; his children were secretly reared as Catholics, and steered the country in that direction, the first lazily and the second stubbornly—steered until the Second James was finally and forcibly expelled.

English Catholics —populace vs. courts

Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, was in his century a man of note. By descent he was a Fleming; by birth a man of Yorkshire; by education an Oxonian; by opportunity a traveler; by honor a knight; by office a Lord High Treasurer, and Secretary of State under James I.; and by faith a Churchman tending to Catholicism.

First Lord Baltimore

At the time of the establishment of the Puritan colony at Plymouth, Sir George was leader of the King's party in Parliament. Until the death of his Majesty, he continued to be his secretary. It was at this time that he first openly announced

himself as an adherent to the Mother Church. In the year of the King's death (1625), Sir George became Lord Baltimore in the Irish peerage.

He had early taken a profound interest in colonial affairs. He was a member of the London Company. While the *Mayflower* and *Speedwell* were preparing for their voyage, Sir George purchased from Sir William Vaughn a bit of peninsula at the southeastern extremity of Newfoundland; and sent some settlers to occupy his claim, which he first called Ferryland. Afterward the King recognized him as its proprietary, and he named it Avalon. For the government of his little state he prepared a patent similar to that subsequently granted as the constitution of Maryland.

Baltimore's Avalon patent

For several years the northern settlement was maintained by Calvert's men; but when in 1627 the proprietary went thither himself, intending to remain for the rest of his life, he was surprised and discouraged to find the descriptions of the country contradicted by the facts. Certainly it was no garden; and Sir George determined to seek a more favorable locality in the south. Avalon continued to be the abode of a few English fishermen.

Unsatisfactory

In 1629, before Sir George left his bleak northern lands, he applied to the King for a colonial grant within the limits of Virginia. He told the King that he desired to conduct forty families from Newfoundland thence. Charles replied that he considered Lord Baltimore better fitted for affairs of state at home than for the arduous

Virginia patent asked

problems of new plantations in America. Would his Lordship not return to England?

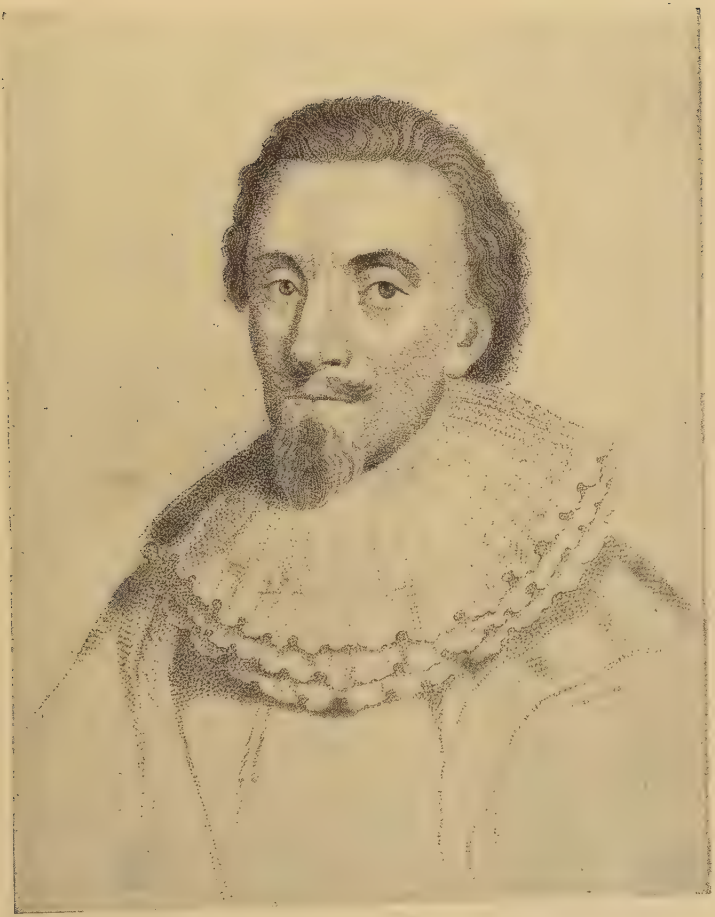
1629-30

But before receiving his sovereign's answer, Baltimore had embarked for Virginia on his own responsibility, taking with him a considerable company of Catholic followers. They arrived at the Chesapeake in October 1629; but they were not welcomed. The Virginia councillors at Jamestown were distrustful of the whole business, and sought to induce Sir George to take an "iron-clad" oath, acknowledging his sovereign not only as the civil head of the nation, but as the head of the Church. To such an oath, being an honest Catholic, neither Baltimore nor his followers could subscribe; which was what the Virginians had hoped. They did not wish the new colony to conform; they wanted to be rid of it. Sir George appealed for a modification of the oath, and engaged for loyalty to Virginia in such case; but his request was refused, with the demand that he leave the colony. Out of this rebuff—to Virginia's great loss—sprang the beginnings of a new American province, destined to be one of the Old Thirteen Colonies.

Baltimore frozen out by Virginia

Sir George Calvert soon perceived that the English in Virginia had colonized only the valley of the James. The country about fifty miles north, though within the limits of the London Company grant of 1609, was as yet unoccupied. The same was true of the region over fifty miles south. As the London Company had been abolished years before, and the King could grant what sovereignties he chose, was it not practicable for Sir George

Unoccupied Virginia territory



GEORGE CALVERT, FIRST LORD BALTIMORE.

to obtain a grant of independent territory beyond those lines? 1632

On the whole, Baltimore preferred the country north of the Potomac. Seeing his opportunity, he returned to England and prepared a charter which he presented to his Majesty, modeled after that already granted for Avalon. Sir George explained his purposes, and pointed to that provision of the charter in which, for the first time in America, the principle of religious toleration was avowed—though not explicitly. Charles acceded to his petition; but before the formalities of sealing and delivering the instrument were completed, —namely, on April 15, 1632,—Sir George Calvert died. His rights and titles descended to his son Cecilius (or in English Cecil) Calvert; and to him, on June 20, the charter as granted to his father was issued without modification or abridgment.

First patent to Lord Baltimore

The territory included was to be bounded on the south by the Potomac, from its source to the Chesapeake Bay; thence across the Bay to Watkin's Point, and eastward to the ocean; thence north by the western coast line of Delaware Bay and River to 40° N. L.; thence west on that parallel to the meridian passing through the source of the Potomac, and south to the place of beginning. The territory here defined is obviously much larger than the present State of Maryland; including in fact the whole State of Delaware and a broad belt of southern Pennsylvania, and containing the sites of Philadelphia, Wilmington, and other important cities.

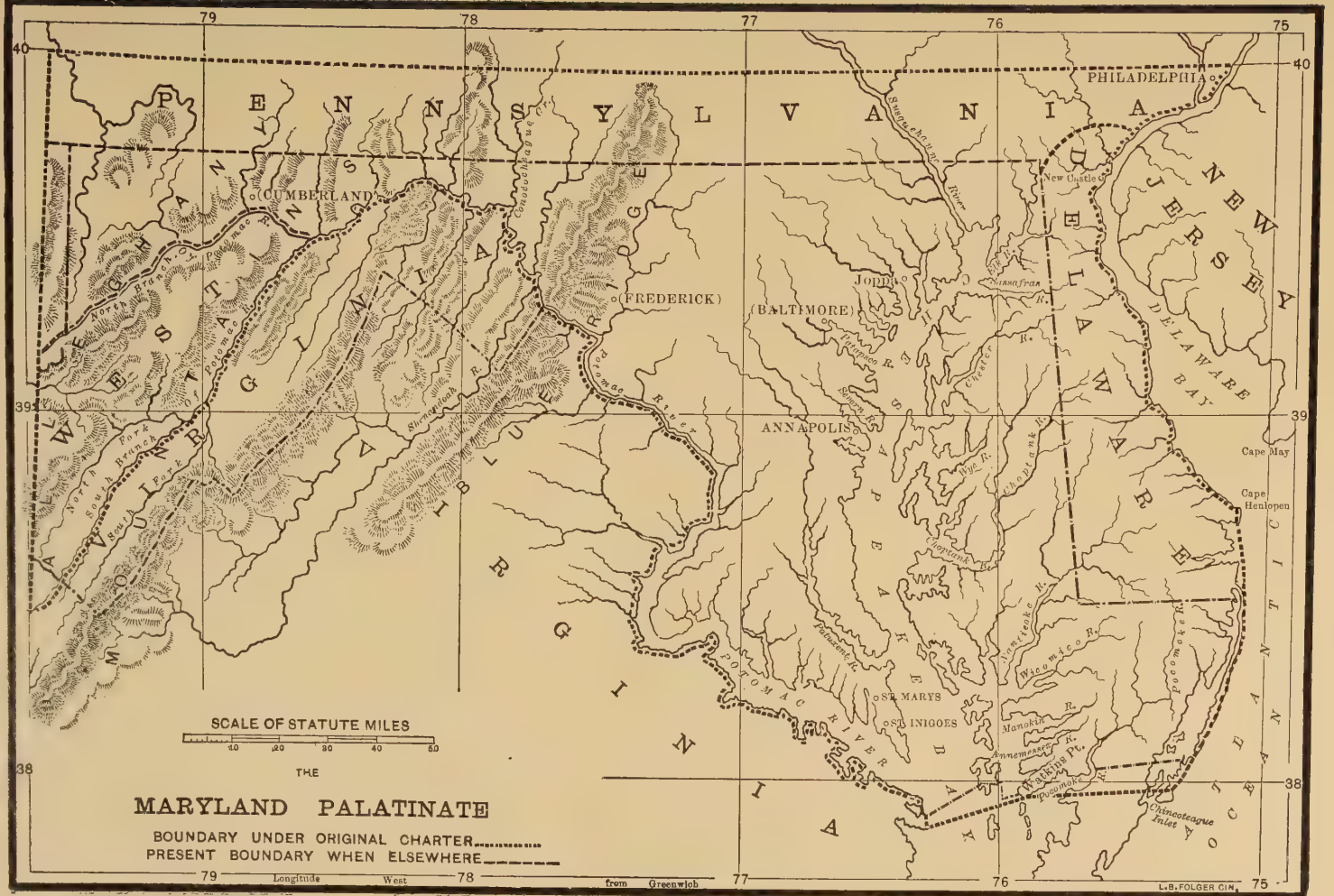
Territorial limits

1632 This was now separated from the London Company's Virginia grant and made independent; it was declared to be a province of England, or of the British "Empire," which began with her first foreign colony, "Our Kingdom of Virginia." Lord Baltimore was declared to be the proprietary and absolute lord of the new country, and his right and title were to descend to his heirs and assigns in perpetuity. Its name was first given by the King as *Terra Mariæ,* or Mary's Land, in honor of the Queen, Henrietta Maria; but Lord Baltimore Englished the name into Maryland.

Maryland constituted

Each proprietary to all time was to acknowledge it as the King's fief by rendering annually at Windsor Castle, on Tuesday of Easter week, two Indian arrows. As for the rest, their rights and prerogatives were to be absolute and indefeasible —"palatine" rights similar to those enjoyed by the Bishop of Durham in England. They should have absolutely sovereign rights of military defense and civil administration, creating subordinate jurisdictions, courts, the levy and collecting of all taxes, etc.; and *mirabile dictu!* the conferring of titles and dignities on the distinguished men of the province, so long as they were not those of the English nobility. Free trade to the English ports was conceded. The government should be local and popular, and according to the principles of English common law. The clauses of the charter in cases of doubtful interpretation should be construed in favor of the proprietary. The Crown reserved nothing except the loyal allegiance of the

Rights and conditions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PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA
NEW JERSEY
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
WEST VIRGINIA
CUMBERLAND
FREDERICK
(BALTIMORE)
ANNAPOLIS
New Castle
Cape May
Cape Henlopen
DELAWARE BAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CHESAPEAKE BAY
POTOMAC RIVER
ST MARYS
ST INIGOES
Chincoteague Inlat
Youghiogheny R.
North Branch Potomac R.
North Fork
South Branch
South Fork
Monongahela R.
Cheat R.
Casselman R.
Savage R.
Patapsco R.
Gunpowder R.
Bush R.
Elk R.
Sassafras R.
Chester R.
Choptank R.
Nanticoke R.
Wicomico R.
Pocomoke R.
Manokin R.
Annemessex R.
Wakiken Pt.
Pocomoke R.
Patuxent R.
Potomac R.
Susquehanna River
Conococheague Cr.
Shenandoah R.
Monocacy River
Blue Ridge
Allegheny Mts.
SCALE OF STATUTE MILES
40 20 30 40 50
THE
MARYLAND PALATINATE
BOUNDARY UNDER ORIGINAL CHARTER.....
PRESENT BOUNDARY WHEN ELSEWHERE_____
Longitude West from Greenwich
L.B. FOLGER CIN.

inhabitants, with one-fifth of all the gold and silver discovered. The proprietary was a sort of American viceroy of the King of England. 1632

As to religious faith and practice, the charter virtually conceded freedom to all. The subject was not formally elaborated; but in two places it was presented. In one clause the advowson—nomination of persons to vacant benefices—was granted to the proprietary. More important is the final clause, that no interpretation of the charter should be made "whereby God's Holy and true Christian religion or the allegiance due to us, our heirs and successors, may in any wise suffer by change, prejudice, or diminution." This might theoretically extend the English Church establishment to the colony; but it certainly left the Catholics, and indeed all Christians, free to the equal enjoyment of their own faith and practices.

Religious freedom in Maryland

On the score of civil government, it might seem that the proprietary was everything and the people nothing; but not so. True, he was constituted a kind of local sovereign, first of his kind in America. None the less, the people of Maryland were recognized as a true body politic. They were to be freemen and to have free institutions. They should participate in the legislation of the colony. There should be justice and uniformity, and the security of equal rights to an extent which, theoretically at least, made colonial Maryland the freest community of all the Old Thirteen. Thus much did the effort to secure liberty and a successful issue for a Catholic colony in America,

Civil freedom

conduce to the enlargement of freedom and the
1628–32 security of the rights of man.

The proprietary had represented to the King that the country contemplated in the grant was "*hactenus inculta,*" in law phrase—hitherto unoc-
Virginia tries to forestall Baltimore cupied by civilization. This was true absolutely when Baltimore and his company went to Virginia; it probably was so when the grant was asked for: but in one spot it had ceased to be true when the grant was made, and there can be no reasonable doubt that it was the prospect of Baltimore's coming again with a patent which caused this sudden change. Virginia had plenty of land at her doors for expansion in 1630, and though explorations had been made up the Chesapeake, and commissions given for trade, had shown no alacrity in following them up; but she wished to keep that territory and trade for her own future needs, and she did *not* want a nest of Catholics next door. It was of the highest importance, therefore, to forestall Baltimore's occupancy by one of her own, which should give the color of a vested right to exclude him.

An able and resolute adventurer, William Claiborne, who had come over in 1621 as colonial secre-
William Claiborne tary and remained as a planter, either took the charge on himself or was the privately understood agent of the colony in doing so. He had already, in 1628, received a Virginia commission to trade on the Chesapeake, but had done nothing with it. Now, going to London, he secured in 1631 a license to prosecute all kinds of traffic with the natives on

the upper coast, "in or near about those parts of America for which there is not already a patent granted to others for sole trade;" formed a partnership with an English house; and returning, bought from the Indians Kent Island in the upper Chesapeake, near the head. There a trading-post was at once established, settlers were hastily induced to take up lands, and the new plantation was instantly admitted to send deputies to the House of Burgesses in 1632. That this swift creation of a new section of Virginia a hundred miles from the old was a mere chance, the individual venture of Claiborne unsought by the colony, but happening in the nick of time for it, and growing to a size worthy representation in a single season from natural causes, is too much to believe. It was skillful tactics, but *war;* seizing a strategic point in the enemy's country.

1631-2

The Kent Island settlement

When the grant to Baltimore was reported in Jamestown, the authorities sent a remonstrance to the home government, declaring that they were disheartened by the alienation of their territory; and claiming that the new section was effectively colonized. But politics and personalities decided such questions at Charles' court—influences not unknown since even at Washington. The Queen liked the likable, estimable, and courtly Baltimore. For a legal excuse, it was alleged that Claiborne's license had passed the Privy Seal unknown to the King—probably most licenses did and must. But after all, Baltimore's cause was just: one small settlement, a year old, could hardly constitute a

Used to fight Baltimore

1632

right to keep vast regions unsettled as a preserve for the old colony. The Privy Council decided that Baltimore's patent should be held valid, but that Virginia might freely seek to uphold her claims by law. Finally, the Council extra-judicially advised the contestants to give over their dispute and dwell together as brethren. This advice, of course, contemplated the existence of two colonies in Virginia instead of one.

Baltimore's patent upheld

Thus in the initial contest Lord Baltimore was confirmed in his rights and encouraged in his purposes. If it be thought surprising that a Protestant King and Privy Council should allow the planting of a Catholic state in America, we must remember (as has been said in a previous chapter) that at this time the policy of keeping dissidents at home to persecute had not been thought of. The policy favored was exactly the reverse—to rid the home government of opposition and embarrassment by having as many of them go as possible. Besides, Maryland was not to be a formally Catholic state. That its inhabitants might be Catholics was an incident; its constitution provided means of preventing their harming the English Church, and of interfering if they did so. As a matter of fact, there was from the beginning in Maryland a freedom of religious profession, and of systems of worship suggested by the consciences of the worshipers, to a greater degree than in any other colony except Rhode Island; and the toleration in Rhode Island came some years afterwards.

English policy as to dissidents

CECILIUS CALVERT, SECOND LORD BALTIMORE.

GOVERNOR LEONARD CALVERT.

It had been Baltimore's purpose to share in person the vicissitudes of the colonial adventure; but circumstances at the time forbade it. In the summer of 1633, while the expedition was preparing, he named his brother Leonard Calvert lieutenant-governor of the colony. As councillors, he appointed Jerome Hawley and Thomas Cornwallis. George Calvert, another brother, was a volunteer in the company. Two ships called the *Ark* and the *Dove,* the first of three hundred and fifty and the second of fifty tons' burden, were prepared; and about two hundred colonists were collected at Gravesend.

1633–4

Baltimore's first expedition

From that port, in October 1633, the expedition departed; first to the Isle of Wight, and finally, on November 22, to the Azores and West Indies *en route* to America. In writing to a friend, Lord Baltimore was able to say that his colony had gone forth under favorable auspices. "There are two of my brothers gone," said he, "with very near twenty other gentlemen of very good fashion, and three hundred [1] laboring men well provided in all things."

On the 27th of February, 1634, Point Comfort in Virginia was sighted. Governor Harvey had been ordered to show all possible favor to Baltimore's people, and did so; which filled to overflowing the cup of the Virginians' hatred for their lawless, violent, and rapacious tyrant. He came down

Reaches Virginia

[1] The colony had been augmented to this extent in the Isle of Wight. There also two of the Jesuits, Father White and Father Althaam, joined the expedition.

from Jamestown and welcomed the new-comers;
1634 the Catholic report of his greeting was that he made it "with much courtesy and humanity."
Calvert welcomed by Harvey Calvert was permitted to gather fresh supplies from the Virginians, and then the two vessels proceeded up the Chesapeake to the broad mouth of the Potomac.

That river the fleet ascended about forty-two miles to the island of St. Clement's. Here a landing was made, and the lieutenant-governor took
Takes possession of Maryland formal possession of the country. The river was explored for some distance above, intercourse was opened with the Indians, and assurances of friendship were exchanged. It was not deemed prudent, however, to begin a settlement so far inland. The ships descended to within a few miles of the estuary, where on the north side the St. Mary's enters the principal stream; into this tributary the ships were directed up-stream for seven miles.

At that point the emigrants found a small Indian village on the bluff of the eastern bank. The place seemed to invite; the Indians were few and
Founds St. Mary's might have been dispossessed by force: but Governor Calvert chose the wiser and more humane method. From the stores of the *Dove* he brought to the Big Men of the tribe an ample supply of knives, hatchets, and English cloth; these were exchanged for thirty square miles of territory, including the village. Part of the huts were to be given up at once for occupation by the English, and at the end of the season the Indians were to withdraw to another place. Thus in peace and

equity, on the 27th of March 1634, a landing was made by the English; the Indian village was occupied, and the colony of Maryland began to be. 1634

There was shown on the part of the newcomers a quick adaptation to the environment. They began to build immediately. A stockade was erected for defense—if defense should be necessary. The Indians were conciliated, and some of the Indian arts were learned. Captain Henry Fleet of Virginia, who had come with the expedition from Point Comfort, remained to act as interpreter. The Indian cooks taught the English women how to prepare corn meal, and to make therefrom corn bread and mush. The two races fraternized; small things were not despised, and laughter was heard that summer on the bluff of the St. Mary's. Early work at St. Mary's

The colonists went freely into the woods and became hunters. They returned proudly with slain deer. Others extended the Indian clearings. Some gathered a cargo of corn and traded therewith as far as New England, where they procured salt and fish in exchange. Still others went into Virginia, and purchased breeding cattle and swine —for political hatred rarely spoils a good bargain. Lord Baltimore's people fitted themselves firmly and well to the soil of the new country, and the colonial establishment was prosperous from the start.

But the fight for possession against Claiborne and his backers could not be put off: a foreign post in the heart of their territory would make

1634–5

their position intolerable at every step, and their trade and Indian relations an endless broil. Leonard Calvert on arrival had notified Claiborne that the island was within Maryland's jurisdiction. Claiborne reported this to the Virginia authorities for advice. They ordered him to hold his post, as the validity of Baltimore's patent was not determined; and sent another remonstrance to the Privy Council, taking the ground that as Claiborne's holding was private property, no general territorial grant could abrogate it, otherwise no one's plantation would be safe. This was of course why Kent Island had been occupied through an individual purchase, and not under colonial authority. The Privy Council replied that the revocation of the London Company's patent did not affect property rights. This of course related *only* to property, not jurisdiction; but the Virginians chose to take it in the broadest sense, as enabling them to retain sovereignty over everything they possessed before the issue of Baltimore's patent.

Calvert begins contest with Claiborne

Feeling his footing assured, Claiborne took measures to secure his monopoly of the Indian trade. To make the natives hold aloof from the new colony, he told them that the latter were a band of Spaniards. The tradition of Spanish cruelty had spread through eastern America, and the natives readily took the alarm. They ceased to appear in the village of St. Mary's, or came only with scowling visages. Baltimore's people, however, were soon able to remove the suspicions, and friendly relations were restored.

Claiborne works on the Indians

Early in 1635 the contestants came to blows, which were inevitable if each side persisted. One of Claiborne's trading vessels came in the way of the Marylanders, and was seized for trading in their waters without a license; some such test case must be made. Claiborne's action shows that he felt sure of Virginia's backing, else it would be mere piracy: he armed a sloop and sent it forth to make reprisals. Calvert accepted the challenge, and sent two of his vessels to capture Kent Island. This brought the issue of battle. In the fight which ensued on April 23, one Marylander was slain; Claiborne lost two of his men, the remainder were forced to surrender and taken prisoners to St. Mary's. On May 10 another of Claiborne's vessels was captured.

1635–7

Claiborne seeks issue of battle

Defeated

Claiborne fled into Virginia, and Calvert sent after him a requisition to Governor Harvey for his surrender. But on the news of the affray, Harvey had been deposed by a revolt of his subjects as a sympathizer with the enemy; and the Virginian John West, made acting governor in his place, of course refused to pay any attention to the warrant. Claiborne's property interests on the island went to rack from neglect and fire, the London partners took possession of them, and an agent was sent over to supersede him in 1637. He then bought Palmer's Island from the Indians, believing or professing to believe that that was outside of Baltimore's jurisdiction; went to England, and presented a petition to the Privy Council, claiming that he had been dispossessed of his

Flies to Virginia

Buys another Maryland island

American plantations by the illegal acts of Lord
1634–8 Baltimore and his subordinates.

The Privy Council in 1638 decided against him on all points: his property right had never been questioned, but it must be held under Maryland jurisdiction; he had no territorial nor trading rights except as licensed by Baltimore. As to the wrongs done by the two parties, they must be referred to the ordinary courts of Virginia and Maryland. Palmer's Island, which he had tried to sell, was also held to be part of Baltimore's territory; and in the latter part of the year the Maryland officers took possession of it, ousting Claiborne's tenants. These are usually held mere personal matters of Claiborne's; they were in fact part of a carefully planned scheme of Virginia policy—not blamable, but neither were their opponents.

Baltimore sustained against Virginia

Meanwhile the colony prospered. So vigorous were the opportunities for growth that no adverse circumstances could prevent their development. Conditions in Lord Baltimore's Catholic province corresponded more nearly to those which subsequently prevailed in Pennsylvania than to those of any other American colony. Religious toleration existed in practice, though its legal basis unfortunately proved but a fragile reed against the forces of Protestant bigotry later on. The oppressed of England and the Continent, knowing of no better place, came in large numbers to the pleasant country of Maryland, and settling there, built their homes and prospered. Modest cottages sprang up along the shores of the Chesapeake and

Growth of Maryland

on the islands of that great bay. This was the period of Maryland's firm creation as an individual state. 1634–8

At this time the town of St. Mary's was the capital of the province, and the most important place in the territory. At present only a few traces of the ancient buildings remain, and the name has disappeared completely from the maps. The settlement of David Jones on the site of Baltimore in 1682, and the subsequent development of that place, put an end to the growth of St. Mary's, and restored that once busy centre to the fertile acres of farm land. St. Mary's

Previous to 1637, Lord Baltimore had prepared a code of laws, liberal and just in scope and purpose; and believing that their adoption would be beneficial to the province, he forwarded them to his brother with the request that they be presented for the consideration of the Assembly. The governor accordingly convoked that body during the year mentioned, and laid the code of laws before the members. But while they expressed the utmost respect and affection for the proprietary, they did not hesitate to take issue with him regarding the initiative of the laws intended for their government. Without the least hesitation they rejected the code which had cost him so much time and effort; but they prepared in its stead a series of regulations highly creditable to their wisdom and sense of justice. Their action was approved by the proprietary, and there was no break in the cordial relations existing between them. Baltimore's code

Set aside

1637-9

Under these regulations, the colony was divided into baronies and manors, and the privileges of each carefully defined. The liberties of the people were guarded by bills framed for that purpose; titles to landed property were defined, and the course of intestate succession regulated. The interests of the proprietary were provided for, and a bill of attainder enacted against Claiborne. Following the example of Virginia, tobacco was made a legal tender, but no limit was placed upon its production. Tobacco was already the leading staple of the colony, commanding a certain price in the markets of Europe; and as neither of the precious metals had been discovered in the province, this product constituted the most convenient medium of exchange.

First Maryland laws

The third Assembly of Maryland, which convened in 1639, was rendered memorable by the introduction of a representative body, due to the large increase of population. The representatives were to be termed "burgesses," and with those called by special writs of the proprietary, the governor, and the secretary, were to constitute the Assembly. But by a unique mixture of mass-meeting and representative systems, all freemen [1] who refrained from voting had the right to sit in person; which it would seem gave the capital an unfair preponderance. There was no division of houses, but all branches of the government met in the same chamber. This constitution continued in force

Representative government introduced

[1] These were defined as all except indented servants and slaves.

until 1650; although, in the mean time, ineffectual efforts were made by the people to secure a democratic representation by a separation of the houses. 1639–44

Various acts were passed by this Assembly of 1639 to define and secure the liberties of the colonists, and to enforce the administration of justice. The great charter of England was declared to be the measure of liberty for the colonists, all whom were required to take the oath of allegiance to the King. As in Virginia, the shortness of food crops from the exclusive cultivation of tobacco was legislated against by requiring the planting of corn and other products; and a general assessment was levied to erect a public mill. Legislation of 1639

Nothing further occurred to disturb the peaceful flow of events in Maryland until 1642, when an Indian war grew out of the usual causes of such wars: the rapid increase of colonists, and consequent driving away of the game by the clearing of the forests, destroying the natives' means of life; their thefts of the whites' tools and live-stock, the whites' reprisals; the purchase of large tracts of land without the interposition of the government, rarely without some species of fraud or deception, and always to the later regret of those who had parted with them for a trifle; and perhaps chief of all, kidnapping for slaves. Brooding over these things, at length their indignation burst forth into open hostilities. For nearly two years the contest raged. There were no great engagements: the Indians confined their operations to the most exposed settlements. Little hamlets and single Indian war of 1642-4

1644

Indian war closes

cabins were surprised and destroyed, their occupants being subjected to the familiar horrors of savage cruelty. The war gradually spent its fury and subsided. At length, toward the end of the year 1644, the Indian ambassadors came bearing the pipe of peace, and the white settlers were glad to be rid of the hideous nightmare and resume friendship again.

Removal of causes

But it was sensibly resolved to do away with the more fruitful sources of native rancor. Two stood above all others: fraudulent land purchases and kidnapping. As to the first, all such purchases thereafter without the consent of the proprietary were to be void. The second was an old and deep-rooted evil, sure to flourish in an age which believed in slavery. The Spaniards had introduced the custom of enslaving their prisoners of war. In the past, Indian habits making it impossible to exchange prisoners, it was deemed more humane to put them to work than torture or slaughter them; but the profit to be made out of them had as much to do with it as humanity. The other colonists borrowed this custom from the Spaniards, until it became the universal rule to enslave the Indian prisoners. Avarice stepped in also, and made no scruple of kidnapping friendly Indians and selling them in America or Europe. No other outrage was more bitterly resented by the Indians. It was therefore enacted that in future, kidnapping friendly Indians should be a capital offense. For the whites' protection, it was made a high misdemeanor to supply the Indians with liquor,

or with arms or ammunition. If these were less pleasing to the natives, they were quite as effective so far as they were enforced. 1644

These Indian troubles ended just as Opechankanough's latest massacre and attempt to drive the whites from Virginia was set on foot. Nothing better shows the hopeless impossibility of combining the natives in any common action against the intruders,—or indeed their lack of any feeling of common interest,—and their childlike ungovernability. They struck, like children, when they felt angry, with no larger plan except when a great leader arose.

Lack of Indian solidarity

This war coincides also with the Civil War in England. All the colonies were placed in a difficult position,—exposed to the wrath of the victors if they espoused the side which failed, yet unable to hold entirely aloof. But the Baltimore government was in a peculiarly ticklish place. Its chiefs were royalists by conviction and policy, and if the royal cause failed they were obnoxious to the Puritans in a double degree, as such and as Catholics. Calvert knew not what to do; he left Giles Brent as deputy, and went to England to consult his brother. The latter was with the King at Oxford, the headquarters of the royal army. Charles commissioned them to capture any London ships that appeared in their waters, as being presumptively under Parliament's license. This commission was forwarded to Brent, who utilized it in January 1644 by seizing an armed English ship, and proclaiming the captain, Richard Ingle, a traitor

Baltimore's difficult position

and pirate; but Ingle escaped by way of James-
1642–4 town.

The successes of the Parliamentary army had now produced semi-anarchy in the colony: many believed that the proprietary government would be ousted, and were unwilling to obey it longer; and when Calvert arrived in September there was general confusion.

Meantime Claiborne had come back to intensify it. He had never ceased importuning Charles to be indemnified for his loss of the islands; and Charles finally in 1642 made him treasurer of Virginia for life—it is said, taking advantage of the Queen's absence in Holland to raise an army for the subjection of Parliament by pawning the Crown jewels. But there was probably more than desire to be rid of importunity. Claiborne had really been the representative of Virginia, put forward to work for its good and draw the lightning; and quite probably there was private assurance that the colony would be pleased with the appointment. He now, while the English authorities were paralyzed by a mutual struggle, resumed the old plans; and by the latter part of 1644 had reoccupied Kent Island,—beyond doubt by help of men and money from Virginia,—despite the decision of the final deciding power in England that he had no rights there. When the wreckage of battle was cleared up, actual possession would be a strong legal point; the King's cause was fast losing ground, and it seemed probable that his allies the Baltimores would meet with no favors from the

Claiborne resumes Kent Island plan

victors. He kept the island for two years and a half. 1644–5

Shortly after his reoccupancy, the forecast seemed justified by the total overthrow of the Baltimore government. He probably had nothing to do with it; but it being coincident with his own adventure, the twin illegality is usually known as "Claiborne and Ingle's Rebellion." Ingle had complained to Parliament, and received a privateer's commission to operate in the Chesapeake Bay, with a war-ship called the *Reformation;* the name indicates his ostensible mission of a crusade against the Catholic colony. Returning thither in February 1645, he seems to have proclaimed that he had come to the help of the Protestants against the Catholic interest, which had been empowered by the King to seize their ships and persecute them. At all events, some of the disaffected rose and joined him, with some volunteers from Virginia; and he marched into St. Mary's and overthrew the executive there without opposition.

Ingle ousts Calvert

No one dared or cared to risk himself for a lost cause, as Marston Moor had proved the King's to be, and Calvert with Brent and a few devoted friends fled to Virginia. That colony was strongly royalist, and was governed by the ardent royalist Sir William Berkeley; but the latter had gone to England in June, and did not return for a year. The acting governor, Kemp, and the Council, were full of sympathy, but informed Calvert that they "could give him no help"; inded, they did not

Who seeks Virginia help

1645-6

Virginia "disavows" Claiborne

dare, in the then posture of affairs. They could hardly have the face publicly to uphold their own official Claiborne, however; and gravely notified him to "surcease for the present all intermeddling with the Island of Kent." He paid no attention, of course; whereupon they offered to act as umpires with the Baltimore government. This too was refused, and the matter rested.

Ingle's irregular government

Ingle does not seem to have pretended, or at least shown, any Parliamentary commission to form a government. Legally, he was a mere pirate and outlaw in thus extending his rights of war; nor had the executive he set up, with Colonel Edward Hill at the head,—probably himself as admiral and commander, but we do not know,—any better sanction. Its power rested on the fact that the supporters of the legal government were cowed by the events in England, that the new one represented at least an aggressive minority in sympathy with Parliament,—the current notion that it was a mere pirates' camp is nonsense,—and that, for a time at least, it confined its oppressions and plunder to the Catholics. The Thirty Years' War had now gone on twenty-seven years, Germany was largely a desert and a graveyard, and passion against the Catholics was very hot. An oath of submission to Parliament was tendered to all the inhabitants; the Catholics refused to take it, and this was made the pretext for all sorts of harrying and extortion. The chief supporters of the Baltimores were banished and their property confiscated; others were heavily fined. Several of

the more influential priests or "malignants" were arrested and taken to England in chains; one account says Ingle went with them to testify against them. 1645-6

Such an illegal administration, resting on force and the coherence of plunder and passion, was bound before long to wear itself out and fall in pieces. It must have committed much depredation on its own side, and quarreled over the spoils. Even the Protestants grew sick of their persecuting and freebooting government, always hunting for some one to rob; and Calvert after a year or so was informed that they were ready to help him turn it out and restore a legal and decent one. Berkeley was now back, and gladly enabled Calvert to raise, equip, and drill a force of Virginia volunteers. With these, in August 1646 Calvert marched to St. Mary's; the population rallied to him, and Ingle in turn had to leave hastily, the people denouncing his "heinous rebellion." We have better cause than they, as in the course of it most of the records were destroyed. Calvert wrests St. Mary's from Ingle

To oust Claiborne was the next step, and with Virginia supporting him might be embarrassing; but he had made a misstep. Charles, it was true, had been finally beaten, become a fugitive in his own kingdom, and been surrendered by the Scots to the commissioners of Parliament; and the Cavaliers of Virginia, even Berkeley, realized that they must submit to facts. But they would not go farther, and throw off their allegiance either to him or his acts of rightful authority in the past. Claiborne's mistake

1644

Calvert drives out Claiborne

Berkeley's loyalty outweighed his interest in the colony's boundary struggles. Claiborne was a rebel against the King's government; and Calvert was helped to raise a new force, which in April 1647, under his personal command, bore down on Kent Island and drove out Claiborne and his followers once more.

But Calvert realized that it would be no longer possible to conduct a royal Catholic province within the domain of the triumphant Parliament. Any such effort would lead to his speedy undoing and the loss of all he had gained by his victory over Claiborne. Therefore, with the co-operation of his brother the Lord of Baltimore, he reorganized the government on the basis of a Protestant colony, acknowledged the supremacy of Parliament, and appointed Robert Vaughn, a Protestant, deputy-governor and commander of Kent Island.

Death of Leonard Calvert

While these matters were in course of adjustment, Leonard Calvert died, on the 9th of June, 1647, only two months after his return to his province. With his death at the early age of forty-one, there passed from the stage of colonial politics the ablest member—and equal to any in honor and loyalty—of a family eminently distinguished for those qualities. Fourteen of the forty-one years of his life had been spent in America, with the exception of a brief visit to England in 1643 to consult his brother regarding the future of Maryland.

On his death-bed, he appointed as his successor Thomas Green, a Catholic, and an ardent Cavalier.

This was a palpable error of judgment; for Parliament was now in the full flower of its triumph, and both Catholics and Cavaliers were regarded as natural enemies of the Commonwealth. Green, however, proved to be a faithful officer. He served as deputy-governor during the remainder of 1647 and the greater part of the following year.

1647–9

Thomas Green

The Assembly of 1647, after declaring that "the province had been wasted by a miserable dissension and unhappy war, which had been closed by the joyful restitution of a blessed peace," proceeded to extend a general pardon and oblivion for all past offenses. A universal amnesty was proclaimed, and pardon for all refugees except Ingle; Maryland now enjoyed a short season of quiet. Claiborne had returned to England, where he assumed the character of a persecuted friend of Parliament; and in course of time he appeared once more to trouble the waters of the Chesapeake.

There was now a period of two years when the colonies were left to their own resources, while England was rent by the closing events of the revolution. The King was a prisoner, and Parliament and the army contended for the supremacy, the final victory being in favor of the latter under the leadership of the indomitable Cromwell. The colonies north and east of Maryland rejoiced in the ascendency of the Commonwealth; but Virginia and the British islands of the West Indies—rapidly filling up with royalist emigrants—openly proclaimed their sympathy for the imprisoned King, while Maryland was regarded with a goodly

Quiet 1647–9

amount of suspicion by Parliament and the friends
1647–9 of the popular cause.

Not alone to retain his province, but to keep his fellow Catholics from passing under the harrow, Lord Baltimore felt it needful at once to acknowledge frankly the Protestant, Puritan, and Parliamentary ascendency; at the same time that, so far as he was able, he put it out of their power to persecute his sect. Otherwise the direction of affairs was almost sure to be taken out of his hands. In August 1648 he removed Green and appointed the Puritan William Stone, of Northampton County, Virginia, governor; and formed a new Council of five, three of them Protestants, with a Protestant secretary. But these must take oaths not to molest on religious grounds any one professing belief in Jesus Christ, "and in particular no Roman Catholic." Stone's commission also forbade him to repeal any law concerning religion, existent or future, without the consent of the proprietary. The meaning of this was quickly made apparent.

Baltimore Puritanizes his government

Baltimore had drafted a number of laws for the Assembly to consider; and it was probably one of these which the Assembly of 1649 enacted, of the foremost note in American history, extending religious toleration to all the inhabitants of the province. This shows that the provisions in the charter were considered much too vague. Indeed, the practical tolerance before Ingle's time had resulted from circumstances, not from colony law.

Toleration law

The measure was entitled *An Act concerning Religion,* and commenced with a preamble declaring that the forcing of the conscience had been of dangerous consequence in those countries wherein it had been practiced; wherefore it was enacted that no persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ should ever be molested in respect of their religion, or in the free exercise thereof, or be compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against their consent, so that they were not unfaithful to the proprietary or conspired against the civil government. It was further provided that persons molesting any other in respect of his religious tenets should pay each treble damages to the party aggrieved, and twenty shillings to the proprietary; that those who should apply to their neighbors opprobrious epithets of religious distinction should forfeit ten shillings; that any one speaking reproachfully against the blessed Virgin or the apostles should forfeit five pounds; but that blasphemy against God should be punished with death.

1649

Provisions of toleration law

This was the first instance in the history of the world where toleration even within the broad lines of a great religion was established by law; and it is no discredit to the Catholics that they were primarily consulting their own interests—most good institutions in the world originate no otherwise. At that period intolerance prevailed among all denominations, and this Maryland instance stands out as the only exception to the rule. Rhode Island was the only one of the English

Cause of its passage

colonies where the principle of toleration then prevailed; and even there, Catholics were excluded from participation in the political privileges that were enjoyed by the rest of the inhabitants.

1649

In Virginia, where the Church of England predominated, Nonconformist Puritans and Quakers were being driven out at the point of the sword, while they in turn contended among themselves for precedence and combined against the Catholics. It was a general upheaval of militant Christianity, in which each of the restless factions struggled for the mastery. Politics entered also into the bitterness of the contest in Virginia, intensifying the animosity of the warring sectaries. The Anglicans, uniting with the refugee Cavaliers, upheld the banner of the King; while the Nonconformists, with scarcely a dissenting voice, favored Parliament and the Commonwealth.

Religious intolerance in Virginia

Puritans, Presbyterians, and Quakers were compelled to flee for their lives from Virginia; and finding refuge in Catholic Maryland, soon gained the ascendency there, whereupon they proceeded to place their benefactors under the ban of the law. They not only sought the abrogation of the Catholic worship, but, as we shall presently see, they attempted to undo every feature of that very system of toleration which had afforded them protection from the fury of the Cavaliers.

Soon enforced in Maryland

Baltimore had contracted with Stone to find five hundred settlers to take land grants in Maryland; and doubtless had an idea that the sectarian fights in Virginia would furnish abundant material. He

can hardly have anticipated that those whom he benefited would turn and rend him, though he prudently provided against it in the act above. The first body obtained by Stone were about one hundred Puritans converted by a mission from New England, who had been banished by Berkeley for refusal to conform; Stone offered them grants and full religious and civil liberty, which they accepted. Delayed by this business, Stone unfortunately did not go to Maryland for some months after his appointment.

1648-9

Puritans drawn into Maryland

Meanwhile Green continued to act as governor; and when the King was beheaded on January 27, 1649, he proclaimed Charles II. as his successor. About the same time the Virginia House of Burgesses announced its adherence to the Stuart dynasty; and thus the two provinces were placed in open hostility to the triumphant Parliamentarians. It was an unwise and indiscreet policy, and brought swift action from the dominant powers in England. Green's proclamation provoked the hostility of the entire Protestant element against Maryland, and proved to be the beginning of the downfall of Catholic supremacy in that province. Lord Baltimore, who was then striving in England to retain the friendship of the ruling powers, by no means approved Green's course; but he was held responsible for the acts of his governor, and suffered accordingly.

Green proclaims Charles II.

Stone and his colony reached Maryland not long after, and were greatly incensed at Green's action. It was a slap in the face of the entire

1649–54

Parliamentary party, and stung the Puritans all the more on account of their persecution by the royalists of Virginia. A bitter feud at once sprung up between the two hostile elements in Maryland. Stone landed his colony on the west shore opposite the Isle of Kent, and established them at a place on the Severn River which they called Providence. This was a grievous injury to the inhabitants of St. Mary's, for, Stone being governor of the province, his action in settling on the Severn naturally transferred the capital to that place. A commercial rivalry came now into existence, and added to the sectarian hostility which had almost reached the explosive point.

Foundation of Providence, Md.

The name of Providence was changed to Anne Arundel Town, in honor of the beautiful and amiable Lady Baltimore; but at a later period it was changed again to Annapolis, for Queen Anne, who gave the town a number of valuable presents. It was in this manner that the present capital of Maryland had its beginning. The place grew and prospered, and soon surpassed St. Mary's both politically and commercially.

Renamed Annapolis

The Catholics retained the supremacy in Maryland until 1654, enlarging always the liberties of the people in conformity with the religious toleration which they had previously enacted by law. A constitution was formed in 1650, which, with a few interruptions, continued in force for more than a century, and proved to be a bulwark of safety under which the province flourished and grew rich.

Constitution of 1650

1642–50

From the very beginning of the settlements there had been an expressed desire for a division in the House of Burgesses, in order that the people might have a more direct and potent voice in legislation. As early as 1642 their elected representatives had appealed for the rights of separation, and to "sit by themselves and have a negative." Their appeal was not heeded at the time, but in 1650 it was provided by law that members called to the Assembly by special writ should form the upper house; that those who were chosen by the hundreds should constitute the lower house; and that only such bills as should be assented to by both houses and ratified by the governor should become laws. This act brought the government up to the high standard which now prevails in the States of the Republic, and guaranteed the freedom and equality of the citizens.

Two-chambered legislature formed

An act recognizing and confirming the proprietary rights of Lord Baltimore was passed by the same Assembly, which also declared itself bound by the laws of both God and man to recognize these rights as established by the charter of the late King Charles. But at the same time they enacted a law prohibiting the imposition of taxes without the consent of the freemen, and declaring in the preamble "that as the Proprietary's strength doth consist in the affections of his people, on them doth he rely for his supplies, not doubting their duty and assistance on all just occasions." Before the end of the session, laws were also enacted for the relief of the poor and the

Popular control over taxes established

encouragement of agriculture and commerce. This
1650 was the last peaceful session of the Assembly for a long period of years; but the good which it accomplished remained and extended on down through the years that followed.

During the same year, Parliament passed an ordinance declaring Virginia, the islands of Bermuda, Barbadoes, and Antigua, in a state of
Parliament and the American colonies rebellion. The Assembly of the first-named province had openly denounced the execution of the King, and had enacted a law making it a treason to asperse his memory or question the lawful succession of his son. Maryland was also regarded with suspicion and distrust; but owing to the efforts of Lord Baltimore, it escaped the anathema of rebellion which was hurled against the other recalcitrant jurisdictions. It was, however, included in the declaration that the American plantations were of right and ought to be dependent on England and subject to her laws.

From this ground Parliament never receded until compelled to do so by the results of the American Revolution; and the declaration was
Sends commissioners to enforce obedience regarded as affording ample justification for including Maryland in the efforts that were soon put forth to subdue the rebellious colonies. In the end that province suffered more than Virginia; but this was due to the malignancy of Claiborne. Parliament appointed five commissioners—Dennis, Stagg, Curtis, Claiborne, and Richard Bennett, who was afterward chosen governor of Virginia—to reduce and govern the colonies within the Bay

of the Chesapeake. At the same time it prohibited all trade intercourse with those uncompliant sections, until they should humble themselves and acknowledge the supremacy of the home government. On Baltimore's representations, Maryland was excluded from this order, leaving it to apply to Virginia only; unluckily the wording of the commission was left vague.

1650–1

Military subjugation ordered

For the enforcement of these measures a fleet and a regiment of soldiers were despatched to America, under command of Sir George Ayscue and Captain Robert Dennis, the latter being also one of the commissioners. A portion of the force consisted of one hundred and fifty Scotch prisoners of war who had been captured in the battle of Worcester; and, strange to relate, they were to be sold to the Virginia planters as servants. How Parliament expected to sell royalist prisoners to the Cavaliers of that rampant and rebellious province is one of the mysteries that history does not attempt to solve. Neither does it inform us what disposition was finally made of the prisoners. By some means they were induced or compelled to join the Parliamentary regiment in several actions against the colonial rebels; after which no mention is made of them. These glimpses and side-lights afford some interesting revelations of the peculiar manners and customs of the times.

Soldiers to be sold after victory!

The expedition sailed in September of 1651, but it did not reach James River until the following March, having stopped on the way to subdue Barbadoes. One of the ships—the *John*—was

Barbadoes reduced

1651-2

lost at sea, carrying down with her two of the commissioners, Dennis and Stagg. It seems that Curtis returned soon afterward to England, and the whole power and responsibility devolved upon Bennett and Claiborne.

Virginia subdued

It was the policy of Parliament to conciliate rather than to coerce the refractory colonists; but whenever it became necessary, the strong arm of the military was employed. Jamestown surrendered on demand; and by due exercise of firmness and conciliation, Virginia was soon restored to amicable relations with the mother country. We have already related the compromise by which this was effected.

Maryland recalcitrant

But matters did not flow so smoothly in Maryland. Order having been restored in Virginia, and the *Guinea,* a large man-of-war, having arrived from England, Bennett and Claiborne sailed in this vessel to St. Mary's about the last of March. Their instructions were precise. All official documents thereafter must be issued in the name of the "Keepers of the Liberties of England" instead of Baltimore's; and every inhabitant must take an oath of allegiance to Parliament, called "The Engagement." Stone and his Council agreed to the oath; but the dropping of the proprietary's name was a breach of their engagement with him, and they refused. Moreover, even the King had never insisted that writs should run in his name, and they had not done so, but in Baltimore's. Why should Parliament be more exacting? The commissioners had a still more effective rejoinder:

they removed Stone and replaced the executive by a Council of six, ignoring Baltimore. This done, they returned to Virginia and divided the government between them: Bennett was made governor and Claiborne secretary of state. 1651–2 Stone removed

These events amounted to a virtual transference of Maryland from the proprietary to Parliament. Stone now realized that he had made a mistake in attempting to resist an overwhelming force, and had harmed his superior instead of conserving his interests; and before the new government had assumed full control, he announced his readiness to comply with the demands of the commissioners, on condition that he might still "reserve and save to himself" his oath to Lord Baltimore as proprietor of the province till "the pleasure of the state of England be further known." They could not well dispense with his popularity, accepted the compromise, and restored him to office. But as usual with compromises, this did not satisfy either side. It was a mere temporary expedient, soon to be brushed aside in the scramble of contending interests. Makes terms and is restored

Claiborne was now in a position to settle the Kent Island business in his own way. He and his fellow-commissioners were the official rulers of Virginia and masters of Maryland, by Parliamentary commission; and a double knot should be tied on the Chesapeake property, by grant to Virginia and by personal grant to himself.

For the former, they sent in Virginia's name a petition to Parliament in August 1652, praying

1652

for a new charter restoring its old limits under former kings, as against all intruders. The petition was referred to a committee of the navy, which reported that Kent Island was settled three years before Maryland was, that Baltimore had acted contrary to his allegiance in exacting an oath of fealty to himself, that the Maryland toleration law and others were contrary to English law, that the governor and Council had refused to issue statutes in the name of the "Keepers of the Liberties of England," etc. Baltimore, however, as soon as he was informed of the state of affairs in his colony, had petitioned the Long Parliament for redress. He humbly represented that while Virginia had gone to the extremity of rebellion in her adherence to the cause of the King, Maryland had not denied the authority of Parliament; and gave several good reasons why it was better policy to have two colonies than one. No action was taken on either.

Virginia again sues against Baltimore

But the personal side was in Claiborne's own hands; and he invoked the instrument which all parties liked to use for their own side and all dismissed contemptuously when employed by the other—an Indian conveyance. He had claimed Kent and Palmer's Islands by right of purchase from the Susquehannock Indians; he now proposed to have this ratified by his puppet Maryland. That there might be no subsequent dispute on plea of ignorance, the commission was made up of citizens of Maryland, save Governor Bennett of Virginia, whose reputation for probity and dignity

Claiborne makes Maryland ratify his purchase

of character would add weight to the proceedings. A treaty was concluded with the tribe, the first article of which conveyed to the province of Maryland all the country on the west side of the Chesapeake Bay from the Patuxent to the Susquehanna River, and on the east side from the Choptank to the Elk, with the islands, rivers, creeks, etc., thereunto pertaining, "and whatsoever else to the same belonging, excepting the Isle of Kent and Palmer's Island, which belong to Captain Claiborne."

1652–3

Claiborne's treaty with Susquehannocks

It is hard to see just what Claiborne expected to gain by this. A chain is no stronger than its weakest link. The Indian title was of value only as an item of equity, to strengthen a case with some standing in law; and it was perfectly certain that Maryland would and could never consent to have Virginia exercise jurisdiction over these important islands in the very heart of the province, and would repudiate the understanding as unauthorized the moment it was possible. He probably hoped to be able, in case the two provinces were not finally consolidated, to force Maryland to pay well for a release.

Its purpose

Baltimore again appealed to the "Barebones Parliament," which came into existence by order of Cromwell in April of 1653, and finally to the Protector himself, but without any satisfactory result. Cromwell caused it to be given out that he had taken upon himself the settlement of the differences between Lord Baltimore and Virginia; but his occupation with larger matters prevented his doing so.

Appeal to Cromwell

1653–4

Baltimore, at last finding that nothing came of his efforts at home, decided to go to the heart of the trouble; and about the end of 1653 he wrote to Governor Stone, accusing him of cowardice, reproaching him for having submitted to the encroachments of the Parliamentary commissioners, and ordering him to restore immediately the proprietary government. He demanded also that all public papers should be issued in his name, and an oath of fidelity to his personal government required of the landholders of the province. This was a bold movement, amounting to rebellion against the authority of the Protector; and it precipitated a conflict the results of which were disastrous to the proprietary's interests. Stone promptly obeyed the commands of his superior; and in January 1654 he issued a proclamation embodying his instructions. The governor now embarked in troubled waters, and assumed the difficult task of sailing under two flags hostile to each other. Scarcely had he cut loose from his moorings under the new order of things, when news came from over the sea that Cromwell had dismissed his second Parliament, and was the actual and sole head of the government. He was indeed king in everything but name.

Baltimore warns Stone to obey him

Stone obeys

Dismayed at his own indiscretion, Stone now endeavored to neutralize the effects of his recent proclamation; and four months after the first had been issued, he published another proclaiming Cromwell as "the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the

To his regret

dominions thereunto belonging," and declaring the proprietary government of Maryland to be "subordinate unto and dependent upon" the Commonwealth. Although he was himself a Puritan and a Roundhead, he had already incurred the ill-will of his own followers by attempting to carry out the commands of Lord Baltimore, and especially by removing the Puritan sheriff of Calvert County and appointing a Catholic in his place, under the express commands of the proprietary. It is not known whether the element of religious prejudice influenced this transaction or not; but it had the same effect on the public mind as if such had really been the case.

1654

Stone proclaims the Commonwealth

Stone now proceeded to place himself in direct opposition to the Parliamentary commissioners, by issuing another proclamation in which he charged them with leading the public into "faction, sedition, and rebellion," against the authority of the proprietary. This document carried him clear over the line into the Catholic camp, and opened the way for decisive action on the part of Bennett and Claiborne. They were not the kind of men to be frightened by official proclamations. In their turn they sent forth a manifesto, announcing that they were acting under recent orders from Cromwell, and by virtue of these commands they proceeded to overturn the whole proprietary government. They dismissed all Catholic officers and appointed Protestants in their stead. They organized a board of commissioners to govern the province in the name of the Lord Protector, and

Opposes Parliamentary commissioners

Who overthrow him

1654 demanded Stone's resignation as governor. He yielded without opposition, but solaced his wounded feelings by the use of "opprobrious and uncivil language."

Stone's character

It is difficult to account for Stone's peculiar actions in these various transactions, except on the ground that he lacked the firmness necessary to cope with the exigencies of each occasion as it arose. There can be no question as to his sincerity and honesty of purpose; but the pressure brought to bear upon him seemed to render him incapable, in many instances, of doing the proper thing at the proper time.

Puritans revolutionize Maryland

The Puritans, coming now into full control of the government of Maryland, proceeded to enact measures which were not in the least creditable to their sense of gratitude or spirit of forbearance. While they did not feel themselves at liberty wholly to ignore the rights of the proprietary, they did not hesitate to abolish its institutions.

Fuller and Preston, the commissioners who had been appointed by Bennett and Claiborne to regulate the affairs of the province, convoked an Assembly, the first act of which was to pass a bill recognizing Cromwell's title and authority. The Parliamentary commissioners had received a letter from the Protector, in which he expressed a desire that they would not "busy themselves about religion, but settle the civil affairs of the government." This letter was placed in the hands of Fuller and Preston; but its general terms were so ambiguous as to admit of various constructions, and on that

account they chose to disregard its evident purpose. The commissioners as well as the members of the Assembly pursued the course most in accord with their personal interests and inclinations, relying upon the outcome of the future to sustain them in the good graces of the Protector. 1654

The Assembly accordingly enacted that no person professing the faith of the Church of Rome should be entitled to protection in the province, under the laws of England enacted during monarchy and not yet repealed, or under those of the Commonwealth. By this act, the Catholics were placed outside the pale of both English and American law, and subjected to the unbridled will of those in authority.

Catholics outlawed

It was enacted also that such as professed faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine and discipline publicly held forth, should not be restrained from the exercise of their religion, "provided such liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy, or to such as, under the profession of Christianity, practice licentiousness." This latter clause was aimed directly at the Quakers, who in due time suffered under its provisions. A number of them who resorted to the province about this time, and began to preach against judicial oaths and military pursuits, were denounced as heretical vagabonds, and subjected to the ignominious punishment of flogging and imprisonment. The Episcopalians were placed in the same category as the Catholics, and were excluded from protection under the laws.

Quakers and Churchmen persecuted

1654 These and other acts of similar character, which disgraced the colonial period of our history, afford a sufficient explanation of the determined opposition of the American people to every measure bearing the least resemblance to ecclesiastical legislation.

These proscriptive measures concluded the legislation for the session of 1654. The commissioners were active in fomenting disturbances, and endeavored with pernicious industry to poison the mind of the Protector against Lord Baltimore, with a view to depriving him of his proprietary rights in the province. They transmitted elaborate representations of his tyranny, bigotry, and royalist predilections; none of which, however, made the least impression on the mind of England's great ruler. He fully appreciated the situation in the colonies, and disregarded the intriguers who were using their opportunities to gratify their narrow prejudices and hatreds. Baltimore remained undisturbed in his rights, although he was allowed no opportunity at present to enjoy his privileges. The Protector had all he could attend to across the water, and was compelled to leave the control of colonial affairs in the hands of agents, who often proved themselves both incompetent and malicious.

Baltimore libeled to Cromwell

Lord Baltimore was aroused to a high pitch of indignation on receipt of the intelligence regarding the action of the Puritan Assembly of his colony. He and his predecessors had honestly endeavored to establish a code of laws which should

deal justly and liberally with all classes of the inhabitants; and naturally he resented the tyrannical usurpation of his rights, and the proscriptive legislation of what he regarded as an illegal Assembly. Again he appealed to the home government for redress; but failing to receive anything more than respectful attention and indefinite promises, he dispatched a special agent to America with a letter to Governor Stone, in which he bitterly reproached that official with faithlessness and cowardice. 1654–5

Stone again called down by Baltimore

Once more Stone was aroused to action. In January 1655 he rallied his forces, and issued orders and commissions in conformity with the commands of the proprietary. Fuller and Preston had removed the capital and public records from St. Mary's to Preston's house on the Patuxent, in Calvert County, where a quantity of arms and ammunition were also deposited. Stone's first object was to recover the records and restore them to their proper place. He accordingly marched at the head of a considerable force to the house, which he surrounded and searched in true military style, without order or warrant.

Rescues records from commissioners

The province was now divided on territorial as well as religious lines. The Catholics occupied the Isle of Kent and maintained the capital at St. Mary's, while the Protestants gathered on the Severn River with their headquarters at Annapolis. The singular feature of this warlike array consisted in the fact that the Catholics obeyed the commands of Stone, the Puritan and Roundhead,

1655-6

who was as sincerely devoted to their welfare and the interests of the proprietary as if he had been himself a member of the Church of Rome—a most unusual subordination of religion to duty.

Catholic against Protestant

After the recovery of the records, Stone issued a proclamation to his opponents, declaring that he entertained no unfriendly purpose regarding them, but desired only to restore the rights of the proprietary. Meanwhile, however, he continued to search the houses of Protestants, and to seize arms intended for their use. When the commissioners sent men to demand the cause of these repressive acts, he threw them into prison and made no reply.

Stone's expedition against Puritans

By the following March (1655), Stone had collected and armed a force of more than two hundred men; whereupon he threw off all disguise, and boldly proclaimed his purpose to subdue the Puritans. His force was accordingly embarked on a fleet of boats prepared for the occasion, and sailed for the mouth of the Severn. Although the distance could not have exceeded ten miles, twelve days were consumed in the making of the passage. On the way the fleet was met by messengers sent by the Puritans to protest against the hostile approach. They declared that "if no amicable settlement could be made, they and the men who sent them would die like men rather than like slaves." Stone's action in this matter was arbitrary and unwise. He seemed to have thrown discretion to the wind. Instead of treating the messengers courteously, and returning a civil answer, he seized them and their boat and proceeded on his way.

Some of the men escaped, however, and reported the strength and character of the expedition. 1655

Soon after this incident, a British ship flying the colors of the Commonwealth approached Stone's fleet of boats, and was fired into by his orders. The ship escaped; but the incident caused Stone and his followers to be regarded as outlaws, who would not respect the flag of their country. It will be seen that some of the leaders, including the commander himself, were subsequently tried on this charge and condemned.

Stone assails Parliament vessel

As the expedition approached a small stream called Herring Creek, it encountered a force of Puritans under Captain Preston, one of the commissioners; and after a sharp combat, Preston was captured and retained as a prisoner. This was a small affair, being but the first battle of the campaign; but its results infused new courage into Stone and his followers, and the commander fancied that it was a propitious opportunity to make another effort to secure peace without additional bloodshed. He accordingly dispatched a certain Dr. Barber into Anne Arundel County, to demand the surrender of the Puritans, and to publish a second proclamation declaring his peaceful intentions. Barber was a friend of Cromwell, had served in the Parliamentary army, and was devoted to the cause of the Commonwealth. He possessed, however, a warm personal attachment for Governor Stone, and served his interests accordingly. He labored earnestly to restore harmony between the contending factions; but without

Wins first skirmish

Barber's mission

avail, for there were principles at stake which
1655 could not be compromised.

At length the fleet of boats approached the mouth of the Severn; but their slow passage across the Bay had given the Puritans time to prepare for their coming, and a warm reception awaited them. The Puritans had chosen William Durand, a brave, zealous, and competent man, as their leader. In the Severn near Annapolis lay a large merchant ship, bearing the appropriate name *Golden Lion.* This vessel carried one or more cannon, as was the custom in those days; and before Stone's fleet drew near, Durand boarded the ship and ordered the captain, in the name of the Lord Protector, to fire upon the boats as soon as they came within range of his guns. To make his order the more emphatic, he caused an order to be written out and nailed to the mainmast of the *Golden Lion,* with an injunction to the captain to disregard it at his peril.

Catholic and Puritan forces approach

But this captain, whose name was Heamans, needed no special urging to a service of this kind. He was a Roundhead, and like most of his clan, he had seen active service, and rather liked the smell of powder and the inspiring crash of big guns. Therefore, no sooner had the boats come within range of his guns, than he sent a round-shot splashing into the water among them. This act seemed to strike the boatmen with dismay, and they steered away toward the shore, with the intention of landing on a projecting cape called Horn Point, now a part of the city of Annapolis.

Naval demonstration

But Heamans, observing their purpose, sent another shot into the midst of the fleet; whereupon the boats fled into a creek which emptied into the river at that place, and thus drew out of the range of the *Golden Lion's* guns. 1655

Stone drew his boats inland some distance, and landed his men where they could march across the point without coming within the range of the ship's cannon. He now sent a strong protest to her captain, demanding his reason for firing into the boats, and warning him not to repeat the offense. Heamans replied in defiant mood, and intimated that if the commander of the Catholic forces was anxious for a fight, he could have his wishes gratified by coming within reach of the ship's guns. This diversion, however, was not embraced in the plans which Stone had mapped out; and accordingly he marched his men across the neck with flying colors, "with drum and shoutings," calling out to the "Roundhead dogs and rogues," and threatening them with "whole bagsful of chewed Bullets rolled in powder." To these opprobrious epithets they added the battle-cry of "The Devil take him that spares any."

Stone retreats before "Golden Lion"

Many of the refugee Cavaliers had joined the Catholics in this campaign, a fact which explains to a certain extent the bravado of Stone's command. They camped on the banks of the Severn, and spent the night in true Cavalier style; but with the dawn they were surprised to see the *Golden Lion* and several smaller vessels lying in the creek where they had landed the day before, and

Blockade of the Severn

preparing to fire into them across the narrow neck
1655 of land. Captain Heamans had brought the vessels up the creek during the night, and his guns were now opened on the camp of the invaders with destructive results.

Meanwhile a New England man named John Cutts, who commanded a small Yankee craft, had taken possession of Stone's boats and ammunition, and thus cut off all chance of retreat. They could only march forward and meet whatever should lie in their way. Moreover, they were not cowards, and having a force superior to that of the Puritans, they made up their minds to fight. Prompt action in this respect was essential; for the *Golden Lion* and her auxiliary vessels had obtained the range of their camp and were transforming it into a dangerous and uncomfortable location. Scarcely had they left the camp, however, when they were confronted by a force of one hundred and twenty Puritans under command of Captain Fuller, who had marched down from Annapolis to oppose their progress. He was exceedingly anxious to avoid open conflict with the Catholics if it were possible, hoping by friendly negotiations to bring about a peaceable settlement; and issued strict orders to his men not to strike the first blow.

Stone's retreat cut off

But the affair had already gone beyond his control. The first blow had been struck. When the *Golden Lion* fired on Stone's boats the previous day, she killed one man; and as they drew near to Fuller's force, they raised a shout of "Hey for St. Mary's!" and rushed upon the

Battle of the Severn begun

Puritans. But they met men of their own metal. Many of the Puritans had served in Cromwell's iron legions, and they were not dismayed at this insignificant skirmish. They met blow for blow, and shouting "In the name of God we fall! God is our strength!" they made the woods resound with the crash of their firelocks and the rattle of broadswords. It was the old contest of the Commonwealth against royalty, transferred on a small scale to the green banks of the Severn. 1655

Ironsides vs. Cavaliers in America

For a few minutes the battle was hot and furious. The Puritans were inspired by an abiding faith in the justice of their cause, believing in "the glorious presence of the Lord of Hosts, manifested in and toward his oppressed people." The Catholics and Cavaliers on their part fought with equal stubbornness. They too were Englishmen, and drilled in the arts of war. But against such men as they now encountered, they "could not endure, but gave back." The Puritans then rushed upon them with such fury that in a moment's time fifty were slain or wounded, not more than four or five escaped by flight, and the rest were captured. The victory was complete and crushing. The whole field was "strewed with Papist heads," while on the other side only two of the Puritans were killed in the battle, and two others died subsequently of their wounds.

Ironsides win as ever

All the leaders were killed or captured, among them Stone himself. A court-martial was convened, and the commander and four of his principal men were put on trial as outlaws and traitors

1650

to the Commonwealth. All were convicted, and all except Stone were immediately executed. He was saved by the intercession of Fuller and other prominent men on the Puritan side. But the fury of the Puritans was intense, and no one can predict where the slaughter would have ended had not the women come out to the battle-field and interceded for the lives of the prisoners.

Catholic leaders put to death

After the battle of the Severn, which occurred on the 25th of March, 1655, Governor Stone does not appear to have taken any part in public affairs. Neither did he lose the respect of his fellow-citizens, but was permitted to retire to his estate in Charles County, where he spent the remainder of his life. In consideration of his faithful services, Lord Baltimore granted him as much land as he could ride around in a day, and the rapid increase in population soon gave a genuine value to this property. One of his grandsons, Thomas Stone, was a member of the Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Stone's later career

Immediately after the battle, the Parliamentary commissioners received a letter from Cromwell, forbidding them to interfere in the affairs of Maryland until the dispute regarding the boundary between that province and Virginia had been adjusted in England. This communication was sufficiently explicit as to leave no doubt concerning its meaning. "We will and require you," wrote the Protector, "to forbear disturbing the Lord Baltimore, or his officers or people in Maryland, and to permit all things to remain as they

Cromwell forbids violence in Maryland

were before any disturbance or altercation made by you, or by any other on pretense of authority from you." 1655

This tardy command had come in response to the persistent appeals of Lord Baltimore; and it was on the high seas, backed by the guns of a war-ship, while the battle on the Severn was being fought. All things in Maryland were not "as they were." The laws of the province had been overturned, and others, totally different in character, substituted in their place. A number of Englishmen had been killed without warrant of law, and others had been hanged as outlaws who bore commissions under Lord Baltimore's patent, sealed with the great seal of the Commonwealth. It is safe to assert that the battle of the Severn would not have been fought if all the parties had known that this letter was on the way to America.

Summary of Maryland war

It was time for solemn thought and consideration. The Protector sometimes wrote things that he did not mean; but in the present instance he was undoubtedly in earnest. It was neither safe nor pleasant to cross the path of a man who had ordered the beheading of a king. It would avail but little to plead that the orders were unknown when the deeds were committed. The letter had been written in January, and the culmination of lawlessness had not taken place till the end of March. Every man is supposed to know the law, and ignorance of its provisions does not excuse the violation of its principles. In the case of the Parliamentary commissioners, they had not only

Cromwell's order

violated the law, but had disregarded their in-
1655 structions, and in so doing, had wrought havoc and confusion and civil war in the province. The situation was indeed ominous; and after a hasty consultation, Bennett and Claiborne decided that it would be wise for the former to go at once to
Mission to Cromwell England and lay their case before the great Protector. Accordingly he resigned his office as governor of Virginia, and sailed by the next ship. The Council of that province, learning the cause of his sudden action, made haste also to set itself right, disavowing all responsibility for what had been done in Maryland.

Bennett's visit, however, was successful. Cromwell heard his plea, and in September wrote another letter in explanation of the first one. The letter of January was only intended, he said, "to prevent any force or violence to be offered by either of the plantations of Virginia or Maryland from one to the other, upon the differences
Commissioners cleared concerning their bounds," and did not mean that a stop should be "put to the proceedings of the commissioners who were authorized to settle the civil government of Maryland." This letter was strongly marked by the peculiarities of the Protector, and is so ambiguous that it might have served his purpose under any circumstances whatsoever. But it was a source of great relief to the trembling officials in Virginia and Maryland. It meant at least that they would not be held accountable for the unlawful deeds which had been committed under their sanction.

For a period of two years no further authoritative message came from England. Cromwell, engrossed with other matters, referred the questions at issue to the Council of State, and that body passed them along to the Commissioners of Trade. Finally, in November 1657, an agreement was entered into in England and ratified by Lord Baltimore and the Virginia agents, Bennett and Matthews, whereby it was provided that all past offenses should be condoned; that there should never be, with his Lordship's consent, any interference with the liberty of conscience; that his authority should again be paramount, but that no oath of fealty to him should be exacted of those who were then residents of the province, they being required to promise only obedience to the laws; and finally, that all land warrants should be granted, and acts of past Assemblies verified, without prejudice on account of late disturbances.

1655–7

Baltimore's new arrangement

Meanwhile, matters of considerable importance had taken place in Maryland. Accompanying Stone's expedition in 1655, there was a petty officer named Josias Fendall, who was destined to become prominent in the future history of the colony. Acting under orders from Stone, he had seized the arms and ammunition stored in Preston's house on the Patuxent, and brought away the colonial records. Fendall was not without ability, but was possessed of great personal ambition, which in this case led him into betraying his trust and working his own ruin. He was particularly zealous in the cause of the proprietary,

Josias Fendall

1656–7 and in return for his service was made lieutenant-governor in 1656. He now attempted to assert the rights of Lord Baltimore; but the opposition was too strong, and he was arrested and imprisoned, being released later upon agreement that he would not disturb the provincial peace again until matters should be decided in England.

Fendall and Philip Calvert

Lord Baltimore appointed his brother, Philip Calvert, as secretary of the province, with enlarged powers and partial control over the actions of the governor. Philip Calvert was also a member of the provincial court, and principal officer for entering and recording land grants, and for the administration of probate matters. In the mean time, Lord Baltimore's petition to the Protector was meeting with favor; and encouraged by the prospect, he instructed Fendall to begin proceedings to gain control of the province. Philip Calvert arrived in the spring of 1657; and Fendall went to England soon afterward, leaving the administration of his office to Dr. Luke Barber.

The condition of the colony was deplorable. Each party was determined to enforce its own pretensions. During Fendall's absence in England, the Providence party, under the leadership of Captain Fuller, called an Assembly which met in September 1657. The lower house consisted of but ten members. The only measure of importance was a bill for the leyv of a poll-tax. A standing committee was appointed for the collection and disposition of the fines which had been laid upon the party loyal to the proprietary.

Meanwhile Bennett and Matthews for Virginia, and Lord Baltimore for Maryland, had signed an agreement in London which terminated the long dispute between the colonies. Lord Baltimore was careful to provide for his loyal subjects by the enforcement of the *Act concerning religion,* by conferring land grants upon those who had served him most faithfully, and by reserving for them the posts of honor and profit. Governor Fendall took with him to Maryland the articles of agreement which had been signed in London; and upon his arrival in the province, he summoned the leaders of the Puritan party to a conference. Some objections were made to the articles, but in the end a satisfactory compromise was reached.

1657–8

The Baltimore agreement

An act of indemnity benefiting both parties was passed, and the clause requiring an oath of fidelity to the proprietor was modified by substituting an engagement or promise of submission for the oath, and applying it only to those who should come subsequently to the province. The governor's commission was read publicly, and writs issued for the election of members of the Assembly.

Fendall organizes the government

One of the first acts of the new government was the reorganization of the militia. The province was divided into districts, and an enumeration made of all persons between the ages of sixteen and sixty capable of military service. Musters were to be held every month, and absentees were to be fined a hundred pounds of tobacco for the first offence. The proceeds of the fines were to

1658–9

be used for the purchase of drums and colors, and any surplus was to be expended for drink for the soldiers on muster days.

Persecution of Quakers

The engagement to the proprietor and the military regulations were equally distasteful to the Quakers, of whom there were many in Anne Arundel County. Here one Josias Cole was said to be dissuading the people from taking the engagement; and of the newly appointed commissioners from that county, two refused to bind themselves to the proprietor. They were fined and others appointed in their places. Warrants were issued for the arrest of Cole and another Quaker named Thomas Thurston. Later an act was passed which provided that the Quakers were to be whipped from constable to constable, until they were sent out of the province. There is no instance of the enforcement of this act, and it is certain that the government acted with all leniency toward Thurston.

Fendall's scheme for independence

Meanwhile Governor Fendall was building up a political party of his own upon the shattered foundation of the Puritan faction. It would seem that he had visions of another Commonwealth, in which he should play the part of Lord Protector. In this scheme he had the assistance of three members of the Council. The plan came to the surface in the meeting of the Assembly in 1659, in the form of the declaration of the Burgesses to the effect that they were a lawful Assembly, without dependence upon any other power in the province. Secretary Calvert objected strongly to this principle;

but evidently the governor was acting with the "leveling" burgesses, and the secretary's protest availed nothing. Fendall and part of the Council united with the burgesses, while Calvert and others of the Council withdrew from the Assembly. The governor presided over the single house, and soon afterward resigned his commission to accept a new one from the Assembly. 1659–60

This miniature Long Parliament passed an act making it a felony to disturb the government as then established, and Fendall issued a proclamation commanding the people to pay no attention to any authority except that of Charles II. or the Assembly. Evidently the governor, who had previously proclaimed Richard Cromwell, did not measure accurately the influence of Lord Baltimore at the court of Charles II. He did not believe that one who had been so favored by the Protector would so soon be established in the good graces of King Charles. Such however was the case, and the new commonwealth's life was brief. Lord Baltimore was restored to his rights by the King; and acting upon royal instructions, the government of Virginia offered its services to put down the Fendall government. **Fendall throws off English authority**

Virginia's assistance was not needed, however. Philip Calvert was appointed governor, and warrants were issued for Fendall and Hatch, the leaders of the usurping party. At first Lord Baltimore insisted that Fendall should pay the extreme penalty for his treachery; but mercy prevailed over justice, and Fendall was pardoned, **Put down**

1660 although deprived of the franchise and the power to hold office, and lived to trouble the peace of Maryland again.

For a few years the Lords of Baltimore enjoyed in peace the results of their efforts; but their enjoyment was not in proportion to their merits. Their record stands clean and pure through a long stretch of time that reeked with moral and official corruption. They were Catholics, and so liberal were their principles that their faith seemed universal. They did as much as any men of their age for religious freedom. Charles, the last of the line who had anything to do with America, was a friend of William Penn, and resembled him in character. He was perhaps more polished in manner, a better courtier and shrewder politician, but he entertained the same high ideas of justice and liberty. It was the ambition of both these men, as it had been of Baltimore's two predecessors, to establish religious toleration in America. The one was a devout Catholic, the other an uncompromising Quaker. Each succeeded in his main purpose, the Quaker perhaps in a larger degree than the Catholic, but neither secured much in material benefits for his descendants.

The Baltimores

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE DUTCH PROVINCE OF NEW NETHERLAND

1633–7

The history of New Netherland to the inauspicious beginnings of Wouter Van Twiller's term as governor (1633-7) have been already related. He was a relative by marriage of the director and patroon Kiliaen Van Rensselaer. His memory is immortally embalmed by Irving in the "Knickerbocker History"; but the delightful portrait there given is a pure fancy sketch, without the least resemblance to reality. So far from being a sleepy lout who could never make up his mind, he was so decisively awake to his own interests that though he made his first appearance in America in charge of a shipment of cattle belonging to Van Rensselaer, he returned to his ancestral home four years later a wealthy moneyed prince.

Wouter Van Twiller

He was a good clerk and shrewd trader, but with neither the experience, judgment, nor firmness to make him a fit colonial governor; indeed, his purposes were directly incompatible with his being such. He saw the opportunities of the patroon system and gave it his official sanction, vastly to his own profit and that of the directorial ring which had seized the patroonships. He purchased large tracts of land, including Governor's

1633–7

Island and Blackwell's Island, and stocked them with cattle. He built a handsome house for himself, and had others erected for the principal subordinate officers. He took shares in or sold his permit for the various monopolies about him, and saw that his own toll never failed. He spent large sums of the public (the West India Company's) money ostensibly in internal improvements; he laid out a cemetery, and gave the town the name of New Amsterdam.

Van Twiller's activities

Not he, but the Dutch energy on which he levied, extended the lines of the colony east and west; but in doing this it came in contact with the sturdy English settlers. How they defied his Connecticut River "Fort Good Hope" at Hartford in 1633, and settled in Windsor; how, soon afterward, the younger John Winthrop's party tore down the arms of the States-General at Saybrook and took possession of the settlement, and how Van Twiller vainly sent a sloop to dislodge them; and how the Massachusetts men flooded the valley beyond hope of Dutch occupation—have been told.

Rivalry for Connecticut

Notwithstanding these losses, the Dutch contrived to extend their trade with the Indians to the east; and despite the warlike watchfulness between them and the Puritans, they traded to profit with each other, like sensible Teutons. Also, in 1634 Van Twiller made an advantageous treaty with the Raritan Indians.

Expanding Dutch trade

Meanwhile, he had the keen enjoyment of a complete triumph in the southwest. A party of

Virginia colonists under George Holmes sailed up along the coast to the Delaware in the summer of 1635, with intent to settle in that region. In attempting to pass the Dutch fort near the mouth of the river, they were brought to and compelled to surrender. They were sent as prisoners to New Amsterdam, where the governor had the satisfaction of shipping them back "pack and sack," to Point Comfort.

1635–8

Dutch repel Virginians from Delaware

But Van Twiller could grow rich so fast only at the expense of his employers' interests as a whole, even if he favored the little ring of patroons; the rest of the directorate were incensed at his greed and his extravagance with the Company's funds. De Vries derided them for the "folly of promoting a fool from a clerkship to a governorship simply to act farces," and in September 1637 Van Twiller was recalled.

Van Twiller recalled

He was succeeded by William Kieft, who served from 1638 to 1647. In his first letter to Holland, he thus described the state of public affairs: "The fort is open at every side, except the stone point; the guns are dismounted; the houses and public buildings are out of repair; the magazine for merchandise has disappeared; every vessel in the harbor is falling to pieces; only one windmill is in operation; the farms of the Company are without tenants and thrown into commons."

William Kieft governor

Kieft was a man of enterprise and ability; but he had a furious temper, and was cordially hated by those whose illegitimate enterprises he

1638

checked. The English flood pouring into Connecticut, with the wretched condition of the Company's property intrusted to him, afforded Kieft ample incentive for his irascibility. According to his enemies, also, he had an unsavory reputation which preceded him to America. He had failed in business in Holland, with a stain on his character. Subsequently, by official influence, he was made minister to Turkey; intrusted with money to ransom Dutch captives in slavery to the infidels, he pocketed the funds and left his unhappy countrymen to their fate. It is fair to say that every official who tried to check corruption was showered with abuse as bad-tempered and himself corrupt; and that even Dutch trading companies would hardly make notorious scamps and peculators their agents. But that Kieft was a hysterically nervous coward, of a base and savage nature, one foul deed brands upon his name ineffaceably; and it almost deprives one of the power of judging his other acts dispassionately.

Kieft's character

Kieft began by concentrating all the executive powers in his own hands. He appointed a single councillor, selected of course for willingness to do his bidding: we may fairly suppose, in despair of help from the burghers in stopping their own misconduct. He began at once to establish an autocracy which was contrary to all true principles of government, and could not be long maintained. One of his first acts was to issue a proclamation of forbidden and commanded acts, like many other colonial governors. Among others, no processes or

Administrative methods

SEAL OF NEW NETHERLAND,
1623-64.

SEAL OF NEW AMSTERDAM,
1654.

writings should be valid before any court unless written by the colonial secretary. The monopoly may have inured somewhat to the benefit of the governor. 1638–42

Pearl Street was merely a country road winding along the bank of the river. Kieft ordered that in future all first-class residences should be erected on that street; and it soon became the aristocratic quarter. He repaired the fort and extended and strengthened its defenses. A windmill on State Street, a bakery near by, and the Company's brewery near the windmill, were put in good condition to supply the people. He also erected a private brewery on Staten Island, where it is said he made the first beer brewed in America. His proclamation that no beer should be tapped during divine service, nor after nine o'clock at night, will be the subject of sneers or commendation according to the reader's outlook. Like all colonial administrators, he prohibited the traffic in guns and ammunition with the Indians; like all colonists, his subjects shamelessly violated the salutary ordinance, and reviled him for attempting to enforce it. He ordered the town bell rung every evening at nine o'clock, and those out after that hour must give a satisfactory reason. He established annual cattle fairs, and required orchards to be planted and gardens cultivated.

Kieft's city improvements

Salutary enactments

A place of public entertainment was desirable. Accordingly, in 1642, Kieft had a stone tavern built on the corner of Pearl Street and Coenties Slip, fronting on East River,—the first

Old Tavern

1637–42

public-house on Manhattan Island; later it was used as the Stadt Huys or city hall. Previously, strangers had been entertained either at private houses or by the colonial officials.

Kieft's vanity and irascibility

About the same time a stone church was erected within the fort at Battery Point, and Governor Kieft placed a marble slab in the front wall bearing this inscription: "*Anno Domini 1642. Wilhelm Kieft, Directeur General, Heeft de Gemente Desen Temple Doen Bouwen.*"[1] Subsequently the governor was incensed at a sermon preached by Dominie Bogardus, in which his despotic administration was denounced; he ceased attendance, was wont to have his soldiers play noisy games under the church windows during service, and otherwise inflicted annoyance on his enemy.

Kieft and Connecticut

Kieft's administration began as Van Twiller's had ended, with protests against the encroachments of the English in Connecticut. At first the English inhabitants felt some alarm at the vigor of these proclamations; they strengthened their defenses and prepared to maintain their rights: but soon perceiving that Holland would not go to the length of war, they not only ignored his protests, but after a while compelled the Dutch garrison to evacuate the fort at Good Hope, and appropriated that plantation to their own use. The States-General always felt their legal claim

[1] "—had this temple built by the community." Sarcastic inhabitants thought this phrase over-true. The slab was preserved until 1835, when it was destroyed in the burning of the old Dutch church in Garden Street, where it had been deposited for safe-keeping.

to be weak, and made no special effort to resent the encroachments of the English in that quarter. 1639–42

Finally, however, the Dutch succeeded in turning the tables against the English on Long Island. They claimed the whole by right of discovery, as well as by purchase from the Indian tribes there; but in 1639 a company of New-Englanders made a settlement on the eastern end, where they remained unmolested until 1642. This was effected under the patronage of Lord Stirling, who had secured a grant of Long Island, without regard to the fact that the western sections were already occupied by the Dutch. Finally, having received a considerable accession, they secured a foothold in the midst of the Dutch settlements immediately opposite New Amsterdam. This aroused Kieft's indignation to the highest pitch, and he immediately proceeded to oust the intruders by force of arms. They returned to the southeastern coast of the island, where they founded Southampton. Here they remained until Long Island was attached to New York on the fall of the Dutch colony in America.

Dutch and English on Long Island

Kieft's success here emboldened him to undertake enterprises in a more distant field. During the same year (1642) he armed two sloops and sent them against some Marylanders who had intruded into territory claimed by the Dutch on the Delaware River. The unexpected attack found the English wholly unprepared; they were driven back to Maryland, and admonished to abide on their side of the line.

Dutch drive English off the Delaware

1638–42

But there remained in the same region a different and much more numerous class of colonists, settled for some distance along the shores of Delaware Bay, and strong enough to maintain their claims. These were the Swedes, for whose presence a previous chapter has accounted. It was the most picturesque settlement in America, for the people had brought the fatherland style of architecture with them across the sea. Crowning the bluffs and nestling in the glens along the Delaware, could be seen many of the same class of neat and comfortable cottages that still form one of the most pleasing characteristics of every Swedish landscape. Their stronghold was Fort Christina, built in 1638 by Peter Minuit, ex-governor of New Netherland.

Swedes on the Delaware

Governor Kieft had no sooner heard of Minuit's landing than he wrote an angry letter and sent it to him by special messenger, declaring that all the land bordering on the Delaware "has been our property for many years, occupied with forts and sealed by our blood, which also was done when thou wast in the service of New Netherland, and is therefore well known to thee." Minuit did not even reply to this protest; and the place remained in possession of the Swedes until it was captured by the Dutch seventeen years afterward.

Kieft to Minuit

Minuit died in 1641, the third year after his arrival in New Sweden; but when Governor Kieft's war-ships appeared in the river before Christina in 1642, and demanded the surrender

of the fort, another commander of equal firmness had taken his place. The Dutch accordingly retired without accomplishing their object. Each party to the controversy was satisfied to expend its martial force in protests and proclamations, and both continued to prosper and expand their material resources. The Dutch did not seem disposed to repurchase the Delaware territory with an expenditure of their blood, and the Swedes had no thirst for military glory.

1642–50

Swedes defy Dutch

At the treaty of Stockholm, in 1650, Sweden and Holland made no reference to the disputes of their respective colonies in America, and the colonists were left to dispose of their troubles in their own way. They eventually settled down to a state of unfriendly peace, and remained in that condition until during Peter Stuyvesant's administration. Meanwhile the reader should not lose sight of the fact that a Swedish colony was growing up on the banks of the Delaware, which by its stubborn individuality at last compelled its recognition as a separate province, and which produced some of the sturdiest soldiers of the Continental army.

Hostile calm

Kieft's entire administration proved a stormy era for New Netherland. The English in Connecticut charged the Dutch with disturbing, kidnapping, and plundering their traders, and selling arms and ammunition to the Indians. The latter charge was true: all colonists were bad enough in this respect, but the Dutch were the most wholesale and reckless, even though they

English charges against Dutch

knew the bullets would be fired back at themselves. Kieft replied only with haughty reproaches and angry recriminations; but when in 1643 the New-Englanders entered into a federal union, to protect themselves against the Indians, the *Dutch*, and the French, he congratulated them upon their league and the same year applied to them for assistance against the Indians. This, however, they declined to furnish, except in the way of sending food and live-stock to make good such necessaries destroyed by the savages. They did not care to be drawn into Dutch quarrels, of whose justice they could not judge.

1643

Kieft and New England Union

The Indian war which Kieft provoked during the winter of 1642-3 was one of the most brutal and unjust that ever disgraced the annals of America. It was an illustration of the fact that in the world's economy, weakness and cowardice are the worst of crimes, and most heavily punished by Providence, the penalty as always falling chiefly on the innocent. It is the strong who can be cool and placable; Kieft was ferocious because he was environed with terrors, and his spirit infected those of his kind as panic always does. There was no occasion for them. There had been scattering mutual outrages and bad blood; but that there would be no great Indian war like that which had so closely threatened the life of Connecticut, was certain—not because the Algonquin tribes around the great New Amsterdam harbor, on Long and Staten Islands, along the Jersey shore, and northward on the banks of the Hudson, were of any

Kieft's Indian war

gentler disposition than others, but because they needed white assistance against their traditional enemies, the Iroquois confederates of the Five Nations.

Indian motives

These tribes too had entered into a lasting peace with the Dutch; a peace unbroken by either side so long as the latter remained in the ascendency in New Netherland. The very life of the Dutch depended on keeping it so; for a single incursion of the Iroquois warriors in full strength could have annihilated the Dutch settlement at almost any period of its existence. The alliance rested partly on the hatred to the French of Canada started by Champlain, partly on mutual benefits. The Five Nations controlled the cream of the fur-trade, and in turn secured from the Dutch the arms and ammunition that made them irresistible against native tribes and long a match even for the whites. They nearly wiped out French Canada with firearms procured from the Dutch; and their prestige, though crippled by Frontenac, was not broken until late in the American Revolution. Again, the Dutch West India Company, which had to pay half its own war bills, strongly discouraged all hostilities. It was Dutch weakness and commercialism, not any superior Dutch equity or humanity, which generally prevented Indian wars with them; and even so, their separate existence is as rich in Indian troubles as the corresponding term, at the outset of its existence, of any English colony north of Virginia.

Indian policy of Dutch a necessity

1640–2

The selling of arms to the Iroquois was one of the prime causes of Kieft's war with the Algonquins. He had endeavored to stop the traffic; and he succeeded in a measure immediately about New Amsterdam, but with the Five Nations the trade went on as before. In 1640 the Mohawks alone possessed more than four hundred muskets, and their warriors knew perfectly well how to use them. The lower-river tribes complained bitterly of this vantage to their old enemies while they were denied a similar privilege. Kieft's one-sided efforts at reform, therefore, only added fuel to the flames. In addition to this, he attempted in 1640 to exact from the tribes near Manhattan a tribute of corn, wampum, and furs. This aroused the savages to the highest pitch of resentment. No Indians ever paid a tax for their own government, and in their view it was an acknowledgment of weakness and subjection. Kieft could not have invented a measure better calculated to arouse their ferocity.

Indians furnished with civilized weapons

Kieft's foolish tax

While this grudge was smoldering, Kieft ordered an attack on the Raritan tribe of Staten Island for an alleged theft, which it ultimately transpired was committed by white men. This fanned the embers into a flame. The Raritans revenged themselves by the destruction of a settlement established by De Vries on their island some years before. Kieft retaliated like a savage, by offering a bounty for the head of every Raritan brought to him. War was now on in earnest, and the outlying Dutch settlements began to feel its

War with Raritans

effects. White men, women, and children were killed and scalped, and Indian men were shot without mercy. 1641–3

There was dread of a general Indian war; a result, as the burghers felt, of the unwise policy of their incompetent governor. His personal courage was also seriously questioned; and when he called on the "Twelve Select Men" to aid him in coming to "a wise conclusion," they suggested that "inasmuch as the Honorable Director is as well the ruler as he is the commander of the soldiery," he ought, in order to prevent confusion, "to lead the van," their place being to "follow his steps and obey his commands." Kieft asked to take the field

The grim humor of the wise men so impressed the governor that he did not recover until some days afterward, when he issued a formal proclamation thanking them for their advice, but explicitly stating that in future he would not require their assistance. He thought it tended toward dangerous consequences and the weakening of his official influence.

The southern tribes now became a prey both to the Dutch and their terrible enemies of the north. During the winter, while the river was filled with ice and they were housed in their huts, a strong party of Dutch-armed Mohawks burst into their midst. The Algonquins, ill-armed, cowed, and taken by surprise, made no effort to resist. Many fell victims to the Mohawks, others fled into the woods and swamps, while hundreds sought refuge among the whites with whom they were also at Iroquois slaughter Algonquins, February 1643

1641

war, knowing that certain death—and for many, awful torture—awaited them if they fell into the power of the Mohawks. Their miserable plight excited only cowardly exultation, not pity, in the stony heart of Kieft. "Now is the time to attack them," he said, "while they are defenseless. We can destroy them without loss to ourselves."

Kieft plans massacre of Indians

Yet after the manner of his kind, he wished to shirk the responsibility on others. Only his own species would share it; but of the dismissed Council of Twelve, two or three were such, and the provincial secretary Van Tienhoven was of his exact stripe and egged him on. A meeting and feast were arranged (February 22, 1643) at the house of Jan Jansen Dam, one of their number. There they concocted the details of this slaughter of unarmed men, women, and children; and presented a formal petition to Kieft in the name of the community, urging it as necessary retaliation for certain murders committed by the savages, to prevent the Dutch power and courage from being despised by them! Kieft heartily approved this courageous scheme, and at once began preparations for carrying it out.

Indians appeal to De Vries

Two days earlier De Vries had come to him on an errand of just self-protection. He had begun a settlement, "Vriesendael," on Tappen Zee, where the Hudson expands into the proportions of a majestic lake. Hither came some hundreds of refugee Indians, begging him for Dutch protection against the Iroquois. He was obliged to tell them that the Mohawks were allies of the Dutch; and

DAVID PIETERSEN DE VRIES.

fearing that in despair they would seize his block-house, defended by only half a dozen men, he paddled his way through the floating ice to New Amsterdam and asked Kieft for a small reinforcement. 1643

Kieft wanted all his soldiers for his own plan, and would lend none. Shortly the decision of the Rump Council was announced, as "solicited by the community." De Vries protested hotly against its iniquity, folly, and illegality. It was not advised by the Council of Twelve, of which himself was president, and was not the sense of the community. It would result as the Raritan expedition had done, in the destruction of settlements and outlying unprotected farms, in widespread murder and ravage. Now was just the time to secure peace and friendship for good, on the best terms from the savages. He was talking to the deafest of deaf ears, those of a dastard; nothing could move Kieft from his purpose. As to the community, Kieft held the whip hand by the power of his commission and by dominating the official organs of action. "I am going," said the governor, "to make these savages wipe their chops." De Vries condemns Kieft's plans

Immediately across the North River, the terrified Indians had gathered in large numbers in the friendly camp of the Hackensack tribe. In the afternoon the soldiers were paraded on the esplanade of the battery, and instructed regarding the bloody work set for them during the night of the next day; this would be safer, as a night surprise would paralyze any possible resistance to which Plan of massacre goes forward

1643 desperation might nerve them—a consideration the valiant Kieft did not overlook. De Vries said to them before dismissal, "You think you are going to break the Indians' heads; but it is our nation you are going to murder." He was joined in his remonstrances by Dominie Bogardus and other good men, but all to no purpose. De Vries would have warned the Indians himself, but he could only do so at the sacrifice of his own life, and martyrs are few.

That night he sat warming himself in the kitchen of the government house, hoping against hope that the plot might fall through or the victims have warning. Just as the town clock struck twelve, there came from over the river sounds that froze his blood: the crash of musketry and the wild shrieks of women and children. "I saw nothing," said De Vries in his journal, written soon afterwards, "but the flash of guns, and heard nothing but the yells and clamor of the Indians, who were butchered in their sleep." One hundred and twenty Indians were slaughtered that night, mostly women and children; for the men, being stronger, ran away and hid in the darkness. The horror was increased by the fact that the Indians did not know who their murderers were until daylight told the tale. They supposed that the Mohawks had come upon them, and that the white men would protect them.

De Vries and the "Pavonia massacre"

As De Vries sat by the fire, a terrified man and woman who had managed to escape and cross the river ran into the room, saying that "the Indians

of Fort Orange had surprised them, and they had come there for shelter." "It is not the savages of Fort Orange who are murdering those of Pavonia," said De Vries, "it is the Swannikins—the Dutch themselves." Then he took them out by a way where there was no guard, and hid them in the darkness until they could escape. Afterwards one of these savages saved his life in turn, and prevented the tribesmen from burning his house, by pointing him out as the "good Swannikin chief."

1643

De Vries rescues Indians

This massacre of Pavonia, as it is known in the history of New York, very nearly resulted in the total destruction of the Dutch settlements. It removed the best guarantees of safety that the white people had ever possessed,—the confidence and friendship of the neighboring Indians themselves. News of the event spread quickly over all the Algonquin country, and they rose as one man to wreak vengeance on the treacherous whites. Their fury knew no bounds. Every swamp and lurking-place seemed to swarm with armed and painted savages. The plantations were attacked and destroyed. The men were murdered in the fields or shot down in their homes, and their bodies left to be consumed by the flames.

General Indian war

People from the plantations crowded into the fort at New Amsterdam, until the country was almost depopulated. But now that the terror of impending destruction hung over them, De Vries succeeded in bringing the people to a realization of their governor's criminal folly; he brought the

1643

old men of the natives together in the spring and patched up (as he supposed) peace. But it was only because the natives must wait till their corn ripened for new stores of food; and in midsummer they took the war-path again. There was but little fuel left for the flames of their fury to feed upon; but the tribes along the Hudson attacked the traders' boats and shot the crews, until the commerce of the up-river stations was destroyed, and the former prosperity of New Amsterdam utterly disappeared. The occupation of the merchants was gone, and the time soon came when starvation stared the miserable people in the face. At the very outposts of the fort on Manhattan Island the guards were shot by lurking Indians, who, if they had known their power and appreciated the opportunity, might perhaps have wiped the town and its people from the face of the earth.

Indians nearly ruin New Amsterdam

One of the most lamentable incidents of this savage eruption was the murder of Anne Hutchinson, who it will be remembered had been banished from Boston on account of her unorthodox views. She brought her family to a place near the present site of New Rochelle, and built there for them and herself a comfortable home. The place was known among her Dutch neighbors as "Annie's Hoeck," and hither many of them came to hear her discourses on the theme of that universal love which ought to dwell in every heart. Her abounding charity and human kindness gained for her many friends also among the red people; but there were others of that race who knew not the white woman

Murder Anne Hutchinson

of the good heart, and when the war of vengeance came, some of these fell upon Annie's Hoeck and murdered her and her family, saving only a little girl grandchild, whom they carried away to become one of their people. 1643

While these deplorable events were taking place, Kieft, the cause and promoter of them all, showed himself the miserable poltroon that he was. He remained cowering within the walls of the fort, doing nothing to save any of the lives he had brought to destruction, thinking only of his own worthless skin. As was to be expected, he tried to shift the responsibility to the shoulders of the dismissed Council of Twelve; but this was too impudent. He and his three tools of course exchanged recriminations; each side laying the blame on the other. One of them, Johan Adriaensen, stalked into the governor's private office and threatened to kill him if he did not stop his "devilish lies." Adriaensen's servant attempted to carry out the threat by firing at Kieft; but he was promptly shot down by a sentinel, and his head exposed on the public gibbet. At length Kieft attempted to mollify the public resentment by proclaiming a solemn fast, and suggesting that these things were doubtless "owing to their sins." This final effort to cast the blame on the Almighty succeeded as little as the rest.

Kieft lays blame on his tools

Finally the situation became so desperate, and the indignation of the people so overwhelming, that toward the end of the summer of 1643, Kieft called them together and requested that they would

1643-4

select a new Council of Eight to assist him in supporting the burdens of government. They promptly complied with his request, and chose eight men of bold and determined character, who immediately seized the reins of government and brought order and safety out of chaos. Captain John Underhill, an Englishman who had gained a great reputation in the war with the Pequots, was selected to organize an army and lead it against the Indians of New Netherland. Underhill quickly organized and drilled a mixed force of Dutch and refugee English, and led them against the savages. Every man of his force knew that he had to obey orders on pain of death, and their leader soon reduced them to as perfect a fighting machine as ever went forth to battle. Underhill had taken his part in the religious wars of Holland. He appreciated the advantages of discipline in an army, and he now organized in the wilds of America a diminutive counterpart of the famous Ironsides. Within the course of a few months he restored order and comparative safety to the distracted settlements. He put a stop to the burnings and killings, and forced the Indians to seek security in fortified villages.

Council of Eight

Underhill represses Indians

Several families of English had formed a settlement at Heemstede (Englished into Hempstead) in the western part of Long Island. They were apprehensive of an attack from the Canarsee Indians, who dwelt near them; and although there was no great friendship between the English settlers and the Dutch, they applied to the authorities

of New Amsterdam for protection. Underhill responded to this call at the head of one hundred and twenty men. Two Indian villages were surprised and reduced to ashes, and more than one hundred warriors were killed. Two warriors and some women were taken back to New Amsterdam and delivered as prisoners to the Dutch.

1644

Underhill relieves Hempstead

Underhill's crowning victory was still to be won. The principal stronghold of the hostile savages was in a fortified village near Stamford, Connecticut. Against this position Underhill led one hundred and fifty of his men by a rapid night march, hoping to effect a surprise like that at the Pequot fort. But they discovered his approach, and about seven hundred warriors had collected behind their rude breastwork to receive him. Without a moment's hesitation the advance was sounded, and the men charged over the obstruction. More than two hundred warriors were killed in the first rush, and many others were slaughtered afterward. The village was set on fire, and men, women, and children were shot as they ran out of their burning huts. On the return of the victorious army to New Amsterdam a grand thanksgiving was ordered, and it was celebrated in the truly lavish style of the Dutch.

Crushing victory near Stamford, March 1644

This decisive blow broke the spirit of the hostile savages. There were no other battles of any consequence, but a few of the most intrepid warriors still lurked in the swamps and woods and picked off stragglers as opportunity offered. Some of the boldest came to the very confines of the Manhattan

Some Indians persist

1644

fortifications, and shot the sentries on duty. So bitter was their hatred of the whites that they seemed reckless of their own lives in seeking its gratification. The Dutch had built a stockade entirely across the island, nearly on a line with the present Wall Street. Beyond this were thick woods and underbrush and almost impenetrable swamps, that offered security to the lurking savages. In this manner several sentinels lost their lives, and the sound of hostile muskets was heard by the Dutch at intervals all through the summer of 1644.

Manhattan Island fortified

Great suffering had been experienced by the people during the previous winter. The destruction of the farms and crops left them with inadequate supplies of food; and the loss of trade had bankrupted the home company. Kieft's drafts had returned dishonored, and as a last resort he tried the expedient of local taxation. This produced a storm.

Petition to remove Kieft

In October 1644 the Council of Eight took hold of matters with a strong hand, and wrote very emphatic letters to the States-General. They pictured the trials and hardships of the people in pathetic terms, and represented truly that all their sorrows were due to the arrogance and incompetency of the governor. They begged for a more popular form of government, with permission for the people to elect local officers who might confer with the governor and council on terms of equal authority. "If your High Mightinesses will only do this," they pleaded, "and send us a ruler to

encourage such a system,—a governor with a beloved peace,—all will be well." 1644–5

The letter had the desired effect. The States-General ordered the recall of Governor Kieft, and directed that his place should be filled by the brave and distinguished Peter Stuyvesant, who until within a recent period had been commandant of the Dutch West Indies. More than a year elapsed before the happy change could be carried into effect; but meanwhile Kieft sank to his proper level of insignificance. The people, no longer fearing his power, treated him and his measures with indifference and contempt.

Kieft replaced by Stuyvesant

The Indians began once more to show signs of friendliness, and in the spring of 1645 a deputation of their chiefs came to New Amsterdam to solicit terms of peace. Kieft, who had not yet been replaced, was only too glad of this opportunity to do something that would entitle him, on his return to Holland, to the favor of the company that he had bankrupted. He accordingly entered into the negotiations with an eagerness that revealed his anxious apprehensions for the future, and without daring any further treachery. A peace was entered into with the Indians on Long Island and along the Sound, which was never after violated by either party. Many of these Indians were subsequently civilized and incorporated into the white population, disappearing entirely as separate tribes.

Kieft makes Indian treaty

A treaty was also made with the Mohawks and other tribes of the Five Nations, by which they

1645

bound themselves to discontinue their warlike adventures against their southern brethren. This proved to be a happy ending of the bloody feuds which had prevailed between these tribes. No trouble was experienced in reaching a satisfactory understanding with the tribes on Staten Island and along the southern banks of the Hudson, for peace had always been their desire. They were driven to war only in resentment of Kieft's atrocious outrage.

Inter-Indian treaty

By midsummer all these treaties had been concluded, and peace once more smiled over the whole face of the happy land. On the 30th of August, 1645, the entire population of New Amsterdam and the near-by towns assembled, with a vast concourse of red people and their chiefs, in Battery Park, to witness the solemn rite of the smoking of the pipe of peace; and one week later the Dutch inhabitants held a grand thanksgiving in commemoration of this happy event.

General peace

The war had been disastrous both to whites and Indians. More than sixteen hundred of the latter had been killed, while the land near the Dutch towns was dotted with the graves of the victims of Kieft's stupid barbarity. Scarcely a hundred settlers were left on Manhattan Island, and it is claimed that the entire colony could not have mustered three hundred men able to bear arms. Years of patient toil were required to bring the colony back to the point it had reached when Kieft made up his mind to exterminate the savages. When he sailed out of the harbor on his

Ravages of the war

PETER STUYVESANT.

way to Holland, three months after the arrival of Stuyvesant, the people celebrated his departure with shouts of joy and salutes of cannon. He took with him more than $100,000 as the ill-gotten profits of his ten years' administration; but the ship was wrecked on the coast of Wales, and Kieft, Dominie Bogardus, and eighty-one others who were on their way to Holland, were lost. Thus perished miserably the most incompetent and cruel of all the Dutch governors of New Netherland.

1647

Kieft's departure and death

The coming of Peter Stuyvesant was an event long remembered in the history of New Amsterdam. He sailed into the harbor on the 11th day of May, 1647, and was welcomed with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy by the entire populace. The people were just beginning to recover from the long and disastrous Indian war. They had lost their trade and nearly everything they possessed, but they retained life and a generous hope for the future. So overjoyed were they with the advent of their new and distinguished governor, that they spent nearly the whole of their remaining stock of powder in firing salutes. Upon landing, Governor Stuyvesant made a short speech to the assembled multitude, declaring that every one should have justice done him. "I will govern you," continued Stuyvesant, "as a father his children." This touched the hearts of the people, and they renewed their shouts of welcome.

Stuyvesant's arrival

While governor of Curaçoa in the West Indies, Stuyvesant had lost a leg in an unsuccessful

attack on the Portuguese island of St. Martin. The
1647 wooden one which replaced it was encircled with silver bands, which gave currency to a report that he wore a silver leg. This gained for him no little renown, as to be presumed enormously wealthy; and the doughty warrior's reputation, both as a fighter and a man of means, spread abroad over the colony. To the English colonists he was a subject of constant marvel and apprehension. No enterprise was regarded as impossible with him. Grave historians solemnly descanted upon the leg of silver, and described in admiring but fearsome language the ardent spirit and unconquerable valor of its wearer. For some months following the advent of the new Dutch governor, the Puritans wondered why he did not swoop down upon and destroy them. The old boundary disputes were fresh in their minds, and many believed that the day of reckoning had arrived. This was the beginning also of the era of Van Tromp and De Ruyter, and the lustre of their names shed a part of its glory upon Stuyvesant's fame. Only five years later, the fleets of Holland ruled the seas, and Van Tromp sailed through the English Channel with a broom nailed to his mast-head as an emblem of his ability to sweep the ocean.

Stuyvesant's silver leg

English apprehensions

No wonder, therefore, that the New England colonists were filled with apprehension; and the wily Dutch governor made no effort to relieve their fears or change their opinion regarding his might and magnificence. He realized the

ROBERT BLAKE.

MARTIN HERBERTSZ VAN TROMP.

weakness of his own garrison and the paucity of his resources, and he wisely concluded for the time being to let his reputation do his fighting for him.

In person, Governor Stuyvesant is described as above medium height, with a noble countenance and fine physique. His presence was impressive. He dressed with care, and was punctilious in his observance and exaction of all the courtesies due to his official and military dignity. He "usually wore slashed hose fastened at the knee with a knotted scarf, a velvet jacket with slashed sleeves over a full puffed shirt, and rosettes upon his shoes." His long hair, plastered close over his high forehead and falling in ringlets down upon his broad Puritan collar, gave him a decided ministerial aspect, until he donned his cavalier's hat and ostrich plume, when he was instantly transformed into a figure of heroic mien.

Stuyvesant's personal characteristics

His manner was nervous and abrupt; he was cold and haughty in the presence of strangers, and full of passion and strange prejudices: and yet he possessed a tender affection, and his sympathies were liberal and expansive. He had a clear judgment and quick perception, and his intelligence was decidedly above the average of his day. Taking him altogether, he was the most picturesque and interesting character that ever sat in the executive chair of New York. He was also the most honest Dutchman, and by consequence is denounced as having a furious temper, boundless arrogance and arbitrariness, and no judgment in

1647

dealing with men. No one could have ruled the defiant smugglers of New Amsterdam with an honest sense of duty, and come away with any reputation. Judged by what the ones he repressed say of him, he was a failure; judged by his recorded acts, he was a man of strong sense, honor, and public spirit. It must be acknowledged, however, that his official appointments seem to have been pretty bad; yet again we are bound to acknowledge that this is always and necessarily so with the ruler of a bitterly hostile community—he must use disreputable instruments because all the best citizens make common cause against him out of partisanship.

Stuyvesant's dubious acts

The new governor was inaugurated on the 27th of May, 1647. One of his first acts was to organize a council and establish a court of justice. In recognition of the popular will, he ordered a general election of eighteen delegates, half of whom were selected by the governor and his council as an advisory board. Their duties were confined strictly to the objects of their appointment, and in no instance were they permitted to exercise legislative or executive functions. While these measures were assuming shape, the governor issued a proclamation enforcing a rigid observance of the Sabbath, and (as always and properly) prohibiting the sale of firearms or liquors to the Indians. He was very pronounced in his religious convictions; in which respect, if in nothing else, he closely resembled the leaders of New England thought.

Stuyvesant's first official acts

On this day, the date underwritten, appeared before the noble lords the Director General and the Council *Megtegichkama*, *Otequehgue* and *Wegtakeckken*, the right owners of land lying on the North River or Netherland on the east shore called *Ubicquaeshook*, in the breadth through the woods, till a certain Kil called *Seweyrut*, diverging at the East River; from thence Northward and Southward to a certain Kill named *Rechawes*, the same land lying betwixt two Kills, one-half woods, and betwixt the North and East Rivers; so that the Western half to the aforesaid is still remaining; and the other Easterly half, with a South and North direction, middle through the woods, the aforesaid owners acknowledged, that with the consent of the Chief Sachem, they have sold the parcel of land, and all their oystering, fishing, &c., unto the noble Lord Petrus Stuyvesant, Director General of New Netherland, for and in consideration of certain parcels of merchandize, which they acknowledge to their satisfaction to have received into their hands and power, before the passing of these presents, viz:

6 Fathom cloth for jackets,	6 Addices,	10 Bells,
6 do seawant, (wampum)	10 Knives,	2 lbs. lead,
6 Kettles,	10 Harrow teeth,	2 lbs. powder,
6 Axes,	10 Corals or Beads,	2 Cloth coats,
		1 Gun.

In consideration of which the before-mentioned owners do hereby the said land convey, transport, and give over to the aforesaid noble Lords, the Director General, and his successors, in full, true and free ownership. * * * *

Witness these presents, by them respectively signed in the Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland, this 14th day of July, A. D. 1649.

The mark of

The mark of Pouupahan helbghelen.

The mark of Wegtakochken.

allest by Me
Cornelis Van Tienhoven
Sec.

The Mark of

attested by the Chief Sachem

DEED OF 1649 CONVEYING PART OF MANHATTAN ISLAND.

Governor Stuyvesant was scarcely settled in the duties of his office when he was visited by a delegation from the New England colonists, with a lengthy address of congratulation. This was followed by a statement of the grievances they had endured under his predecessor, and an earnest prayer that he would redress them. One of their chief complaints was the frequent seizure and confiscation of English trading vessels, on pretended infractions of the Dutch custom-house regulations. The old boundary disputes were also brought up and set forth at length. It did not take the new governor long to realize that his new office was by no means a sinecure. His predecessor had left trouble enough to last him through half a generation; and much of it would have existed no matter who his predecessor was, and constantly grew afresh.

1647

New England complaints to Stuyvesant

Stuyvesant replied very diplomatically to the address. He made no effort to excuse past errors. These were freely admitted, and he assured the commissioners that he would do all in his power to make proper amends. But he suggested at the same time that the provocations were not all on one side. He reminded the commissioners of the habit their people had fallen into of trespassing upon Dutch ground, and suggested that one of the first steps toward reconciliation should be the restoration to New Netherland of the territories of Connecticut and New Haven. This, however, was a hopeless demand; for the English claimed all the territory between the Spanish possessions

His reply

1647-50

in the south and those of the French in the northeast. In their estimation, the Dutch were themselves interlopers. England, France, and Spain had closed the colonial doors to all the rest of Europe, and the French claim was not quite allowed; and if that question were forced to an issue, the Dutch would have to get out, acknowledge British supremacy, or fight for their pretensions. These conditions were plainly stated by the commissioners.

English claim to Dutch territory

Stuyvesant soon perceived that the boundary question was a dangerous topic, and early manifested a disposition to avoid it. He desired peace above everything else, to repair the damages which resulted from his predecessor's cruelty and folly. The English therefore did not find him unamenable to reason; and after various negotiations, a treaty was concluded in 1650 by which it was agreed that the respective Long Island settlements should be secured to the colonists, and arrangements made to determine the disputed Connecticut and New Haven boundaries.

Treaty of Hartford

This was a virtual surrender of the Dutch right to Long Island, and a postponement of trouble on the north shore to a more convenient season. The English were now secure in the settlements already made on the island, and were perfectly willing to let the existing status in Connecticut remain, well assured that they could easily hold their own; while for the Dutch, the new arrangement averted the danger of immediate war, and gave Stuyvesant time to collect his scattered

The Long Island status

resources. It was merely a truce between contending parties, neither of which was quite ready to force the issue. 1653–4

A conflict was very nearly precipitated in the latter part of 1653, through the alleged "confession" by some Indians of a projected massacre of the English, instigated by the governor of New Netherland. Their tribes had but recently obtained new supplies of arms and ammunition from the Dutch, to be used, so they said, against the English. Stuyvesant indignantly denied it, and demanded a committee of investigation from the New England Confederacy; it was sent, and he disproved the charge effectively, if it needed any disproving. The English colonists clung to a doubt over the matter, but no one now believes a word of it. If the sale of firearms was to be made a ground of probability, it would be an equally good presumption of the Dutch having plotted with the Indians to massacre themselves; for they had always carried on this sale, and brought a terrible punishment on themselves already. The object of the Indians was probably to set the two white races by the ears.

Absurd charge against Stuyvesant

By the beginning of 1654, the controversy had reached a point where the English colonists appealed to Cromwell for reinforcements to aid them in their expected conflict with the Dutch. England and Holland were then at war; and Cromwell, believing that it would be a good stroke of policy to weaken his antagonist in the west, promptly dispatched a squadron of war-ships

Cromwell plans seizure of New Netherland

1654

to America. But peace was soon afterward declared, and the impending colonial struggle was thereby postponed. The treaty between England and Holland did not, however, settle the questions at issue between their respective foreign colonies. These matters were not even referred to; and the colonists were accordingly left to fight their own battles, or arrange their own peace, between themselves. After all they were only pawns, whose moves were merged in the mightier game outside.

Colonies a side issue

The Dutch were now practically shut out from expansion toward the east; but there was an inviting field to the southwestward, obstructed only by the comparatively weak claims of the Swedes along the banks of the Delaware. While the Dutch had been reduced almost to the last extremity by their foolish and wicked outrages on the Indians, the Swedes had courted the friendship of the savages in their field, extending and strengthening their occupation. They had now become a menace to the Dutch settlements; and no sooner had Stuyvesant patched up a temporary peace with the Puritans, than he turned to the southwest. With an eye to the future, he had, shortly after arriving, established a fort at a place then called New Amstel, later and now New Castle, on the Delaware.

Swedish policy on the Delaware

The Swedes sent a protest against the erection of a fort within the limits of their territory; but the Dutch governor made no reply. Other protests shared a similar fate; until, about a year after the delivery of the first one, the Swedish

governor Risingh took matters into his own hands. Arming and manning one of his strongest ships, he came before the Dutch fort at New Amstel and fired two cannon as a friendly salute. The commandant returned the courtesy, and invited the Swedish governor and his attendants to a banquet within the fort. Risingh, who had desired just this, accepted the invitation, and put in his appearance with thirty armed men. The size of his retinue does not seem to have alarmed the Dutch commandant, who set forth a bountiful repast. Risingh's men, as privately ordered, ate and drank sparingly, while the Dutchmen filled themselves full. When the latter were in a proper condition, the Swedes made themselves masters of the fort. The garrison were treated as prisoners of war, while the people of the settlement were compelled to swear allegiance to the Queen of Sweden. Risingh now proceeded to expel the other Dutch garrisons from his territory, and took possession of the whole region in the name of his sovereign.

1654–5

Risingh drives Dutch from Delaware

It was some months before Stuyvesant felt himself strong enough to retaliate; but in 1655, having received a small reinforcement from the Dutch West India Company, he marched into Delaware at the head of several hundred trained warriors. Resistance to such an overwhelming force was simply suicide; and the Swedes surrendered all their forts and settlements to the Dutch without firing a gun. Many of the people were so bitterly opposed to Dutch sovereignty that they

Stuyvesant reconquers it

refused to swear allegiance to the States-General,
1653 and giving up all their possessions, returned with their families to Sweden. The larger number, however, remained in America, became Dutch subjects, and were ruled by a lieutenant-governor appointed by Stuyvesant until the whole country came under the dominion of the English.

Constitution for New Netherland

Important paper reforms had been instituted at New Amsterdam during the years just previous. A new constitution was framed by the West India Company, and being approved by the burgomasters and States-General, went into operation in 1653. This instrument was a long step toward popular government. It provided that the colonists of New Netherland, while still ruled by a governor nominated by the deputies of Amsterdam, should have burgomasters and a town council elected by the people themselves. But the scheme was nullified by Stuyvesant's insisting on nominating the town officials. The colony was slow in regaining the prosperity it had lost, but still it would have paid the Company had that body received the profits; but smuggling prevented that.

Underhill in trouble with Dutch

Captain John Underhill, whose valor in connection with Kieft's Indian war will be remembered, now declared openly that the Dutch were in league with the Indians against the English; probably on no better warrant than the Indian statements aforesaid. For this he was thrown into jail at New Amsterdam; but Stuyvesant, remembering his former services to the colony, and probably fearing a broil with New England, soon

released him. So fiery a spirit, however, could not long brook inactivity; and he was scarcely out of jail before he hoisted the Parliamentary flag at Hempstead and Flushing, Long Island. This overt act of rebellion was followed by a manifesto accusing the Dutch governor of numerous crimes and misdemeanors, such as the unlawful imposition of taxes, the appointment of magistrates without the sanction of the people, the violation of conscience in religious matters, conspiring with the Indians to murder the English, and even the striking of an old man in the council with a cane. Both the English and Dutch settlers were urged to unite in throwing off the "yoke of tyranny." But neither of the races manifested any special inclination to join the standard of revolt, and the fiery-tempered Underhill was arrested the second time. Instead of hanging him as a rebel and traitor, according to the custom of the times, Stuyvesant showed his good sense and moderation by merely banishing the English captain and warning him to remain beyond the limits of New Netherland, on pain of a worse fate should he again cause trouble.

1653

Underhill's futile sedition

The little colony of Rhode Island now took up the gauntlet, and the General Assembly of that diminutive corporation actually made a formal declaration of war against the Dutch. Their ground of complaint was the "servile condition" to which the English on Long Island were subjected by the "cruel tirannie of the Dutch power at the Manathoes," and the danger that would

Rhode Island declares war

result to the Providence plantations should they
1653 be "cut off and murdered" by the common enemy. Captain John Underhill was appointed the com-
Rhode Island commissions army and navy mander of the land forces, while Captains William Dyer and Edward Hull were placed in charge of the navy. It is difficult now to read of these portentous undertakings without a smile; but they had the danger that a small match may set off a large powder magazine.

Commander-in-chief Underhill had no sooner received his commission than he proceeded to organize and drill his army of twenty bold volunteers, while the state placed at his disposal two or three old cannon. A Court of Admiralty was likewise appointed for the trial of such prizes as the "navy" might capture and bring into Newport! Little Rhode Island was going forth to war with New Netherland, and if necessary with the combined army and navy of Holland; and her General Assembly was careful to see that nothing was left undone.

Commander Underhill took the field. Unfurling the flag of the British Commonwealth, he marched to Fort Good Hope, on the Connecticut
Underhill seizes old Dutch fort River, which had been abandoned by the Dutch. But the buildings were still there, and on his arrival Underhill posted a notice on the door of the fort to the effect that he, "Io. Underhill, did seaze upon this hous and lands hereunto belonging, as Dutch goods claymed by the West India Company in Amsterdam, enemies of the Commonweal of England." Thereupon the commander-

in-chief of the land forces of Rhode Island, having gained so complete a victory, disbanded his army and ordered its constituent elements to return to their homes. As for himself, he remained in possession of the conquered territory, aggregating about thirty acres, which he sold a few days later to one man for £20 sterling, and about two months afterward to another for a similar amount, giving a warranty deed to each purchaser. No further history of these transactions remains.

1653

Underhill's odd transactions

The subsequent career of Captain Underhill is enlivened by no stirring events. He continued to reside on Long Island, and in 1665 was a delegate from Oyster Bay, where he then lived, to some kind of an assembly at Hempstead. The Manti-nenoc Indians seem to have entertained an affection for him, to which they gave expression in a gift of one hundred and fifty acres of land; and it is said that this tract still remains in the possession of Underhill's descendants.

Later career

Meanwhile the "naval" operations of Rhode Island had been even more exciting than the campaign which had taken place on land. Captain Hull boldly sailed forth upon the ocean main and captured a French merchantman, against whose country there had been no declaration of war. This act led to a lengthy dispute between Rhode Island and Massachusetts, whence it eventually found its way into Parliament; but the records do not enable us to trace its course. Another bold rover of the sea, one Thomas Baxter, sailed under a letter of marque from Rhode Island, and

Rhode Island naval war

1653

actually captured several Dutch vessels. Unfortunately, he construed his commission too liberally, and seized a New England ship which had cleared at New Amsterdam in violation of colonial navigation laws; for which he got into trouble as a pirate.

Baxter's privateering

Rhode Island's war with the Dutch went out in a blaze of glory. Her army and her navy lost not a single battle. In fact, so great was the renown of her warriors that no nation rose up to measure arms with them.

Meanwhile Governor Stuyvesant's troubles continued to increase. The fortifications that he had planned at New Amsterdam were not half finished when, the fear of an attack from the English having subsided, the people refused any longer to be taxed for that work. To tell the truth, they were not alarmed at the prospect of being captured by the English. The idea had spread abroad that the New-Englanders, as well as the Virginians, were better governed than themselves.

New Amsterdam objects to war tax

The English settlers on Long Island had hitherto remained faithful in their allegiance to the New Netherland government. But the loss of their old prosperity, and the threatened danger of a new Indian war, now brought them together on an independent basis for mutual protection. The leaders in this movement were James Hubbard and George Baxter—the latter formerly English interpreter and secretary. They organized a convention of delegates from the English

Long Island English convene

colonists on the island, and in November 1653 assembled in the Stadt-Huys in New Amsterdam, to provide means for the common defense. Stuyvesant had been consulted in advance, and appointed two of his council, La Montague and Van Werckhoven, to represent him and the Dutch settlers. The other delegates, however, objected to Van Werckhoven, and ended by refusing to permit any representative of the governor to take part. They would co-operate with the municipal authorities of New Amsterdam, who formed a popular body; but they would not submit to the governor and his council, who had demonstrated their inability to protect them. "We are compelled," the convention declared, "to provide against our own ruin and destruction; and therefore we will not pay any more taxes."

1653

Long Island towns hold convention

This seems curiously bold action in Stuyvesant's own citadel; but he took it fairly well. He did not object to the alliance of the towns for mutual protection, but he thought they should all be represented,—the Dutch as well as English. This action of the convention, in his own expressive language, "smelt of rebellion, of contempt of his high authority and commission," which was true. The delegates, however, admitted the justice of his contention, and adjourned until the tenth of the following month, to give the Dutch inhabitants time to select delegates.

Enlarged to include Dutch

When the convention assembled again there was a fairly equal representation, ten Dutch delegates and nine English. The slight inferiority in

1653–4

numbers of the latter was more than made up in experience and ability. Baxter was selected to draft a memorial. "Is there no one among the Netherland nation," exclaimed the choleric Stuyvesant, "expert enough to draw up a remonstrance to the Director and Council, that a foreigner or an Englishman is required to dictate what you have to say?" He hoped to play upon the feeling of national pride, but matters had advanced beyond his influence. The delegates not only persisted in demanding their rights, but appointed a representative to proceed to Holland and lay their complaints before the West India Company and the States-General.

Memorial of convention

The mission, however, was a practical failure. The only concession that could be secured from the Amsterdam authorities was an order separating the offices of city schout and provincial fiscal, which had until then been held by one person. This was virtually no concession to the wishes of the people, and accident enabled Stuyvesant to render it wholly inoperative. A commission as schout was made out and forwarded to one Kuyter, but before its arrival he was murdered by the Indians on Long Island. The governor thereupon declined to make another appointment, and his old friend Van Tienhoven was permitted to retain both offices. This action still further inflamed the people against the home government, and made them all the more desirous of securing independence, or becoming partners with the English colonists in that larger liberty which they enjoyed.

Rejected by Directors

This feeling was intensified by a foolish act of resentment on the part of the States-General. They suggested to Stuyvesant that he was too lenient, and ought to punish severely the ring-leaders in the late rebellious movement. This being in accord with his own sentiments, he proceeded immediately to Gravesend to oust the Englishmen, Baxter and Hubbard, from the magistracy. The former, hearing in advance of the governor's purpose, and apprehending arrest, fled to Connecticut for safety. But he soon returned; and not long afterward both he and Hubbard were arrested at Gravesend, while in the act of hoisting the English flag and reading a proclamation declaring the people of that locality subjects of the British commonwealth. Both were thrown into prison at New Amsterdam, where they remained for some months, but were eventually released.

1654–5

Stuyvesant tries to punish convention leaders

During all these events the New-Englanders held steadfastly to the belief that the Dutchmen were endeavoring to inflame the savages against them, and systematically supplying them with tools of murder to be used against the English, whose settlements had extended rapidly westward, both along the north shore and on Long Island. Numerous hardy pioneers had established unprotected plantations in the woods beyond the limits of safety. There were also many villages and hamlets that would fall easy victims in case of another outbreak of savage ferocity. The new families must have land, and they took the risk in

Long Island English discontented

1658-9

these advanced situations; but they were uneasy. They believed that all danger would be removed if the New Netherland government were out of the way, and the British flag floated over the whole extent of country.

Connecticut prepares for war

Partly from this, and partly from a belief that war must come and the advantage lay in the first blow, Stamford, Fairfield, and other border towns of Connecticut actively prepared for war. Military companies were formed and drilled, and all the colonies were urged to act in concert for their mutual protection. They also entertained a strong hope that the home government would share and act on their belief that the Dutch were interlopers. Cromwell had done so; his son Richard now sat in his place, and like his father, was favorably impressed with the representations of the New-Englanders. He issued instructions to the commanders of the English fleets to prepare for an invasion of New Netherland; but it came to naught by his abdication soon afterward. But events were rapidly shaping themselves to accomplish the desire of the New England colonists in a way wholly unexpected to them, and not entirely to their liking.

Dutch on the Delaware

Meanwhile a new trouble was coming to the Dutch from the southwest. After his conquest of the Swedes on the Delaware, Stuyvesant had greatly strengthened his power in that quarter by purchasing additional territory from the Indians, and inducing emigrants from Holland to settle there. He had likewise cemented a permanent friendship between the remaining Swedes and

the Dutch, and in other respects laid the foundations for an abiding prosperity on the banks of the great South River. But his success in that region was now drawing to a close. The lines were beginning to tighten on all sides of the Dutch possessions. Holland's empire in America was rapidly nearing its end. 1659

Governor Fendall of Maryland laid claim to all the territory occupied by the Dutch and Swedes along the Delaware, as included in the grant to Lord Baltimore. Finding that Stuyvesant was preparing to maintain his pretensions by force of arms, Fendall sent a strong remonstrance to the States-General at Amsterdam. This body in reply publicly denied the English pretensions; but privately instructed Stuyvesant that in case the Marylanders pressed their claim, he should avoid hostilities by withdrawing beyond their alleged lines. Stuyvesant, while deploring the feeble policy of his masters, reluctantly complied, but not to the full extent demanded by the Marylanders. A few Dutch forts remained on the Delaware for years, and nearly all the Swedish and Dutch inhabitants continued in that region. Many families still residing in Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, trace their lineage back to these sturdy old pioneers.

Fendall ousts Dutch from Delaware

This withdrawal was a bitter experience in Stuyvesant's life. He fought against it to the last; and complied with his instructions only because he dared not involve his country in a possible war in defiance of direct orders. He even went to

1659–60

the extent of seeking an alliance with Governor Berkeley of Virginia, hoping that the jealousy between that colony and Maryland might strengthen Dutch claims. But while Berkeley received his overtures with the utmost courtesy, and cordially entered into a commercial treaty with him, he was careful not to employ any expression that might be construed into an acknowledgment of Dutch territorial pretensions.

Berkeley's treaty with Stuyvesant

The restoration of the Stuart dynasty in 1660, and the entry of Charles II. into London on May 29 of that year, was a complete revolution of parties and political forces in America as well as England. The New-Englanders had been in hearty sympathy with the Revolution, and after the Restoration they harbored and protected three of the regicides, Goffe, Whalley, and Dixwell. One of Charles II.'s first acts after ascending the throne was to have his Parliament outlaw every person directly concerned in his father's execution; all the regicide judges were by name excepted from indemnity and hunted down like wild animals, and none escaped his vengeance except those who hid themselves closely in other countries.

Restoration and the regicides

Stuyvesant imagined he could turn this hunt for the king-killers to his own advantage. The Crown officers, baffled in their search for the regicides, besought the Dutch governor to deny them an asylum in New Netherland. To ingratiate himself with the English court,—quite probably also from a real feudal horror of their act,—Stuyvesant not only undertook to give instant notice

of their arrival within his jurisdiction, but also to prohibit all Dutch subjects and vessels from carrying them beyond pursuit. This compliance did not change the fate assigned for New Netherland; nor would any action of Stuyvesant's. Charles during his exile had received more friendship and civility from the Dutch than from any other foreign power; but the English nation had old scores to settle with the Netherlands, and Charles was not the man to balk them. His brother the Duke of York, the future James II., had also a grand colonial ambition, to form the old North Virginia territory into a strong military province to check the French; and the Dutch possessions were necessary to the scheme.

English colonial rivalry with Dutch

There was a private motive also. Since the time of the early Stuarts, four English companies had been chartered to carry on the African slave trade. Charles II. and his brother were members of the fourth company, James being the head of the corporation and the principal beneficiary of its enormous profits. America was the principal slave market, and all sections of the country were equally guilty as participants in the infamous traffic. Owing to their commercial activity, the Dutch were the Duke of York's principal competitors, and his new colonial combination would at the same time destroy their competition and annex whatever general profit there might be in the Dutch colonial venture.

Rivalry in slave trade

The Dutch had been slow to engage generally in the slave trade; not, however, from any moral

1652–64

repugnance, which on this matter was unknown to the age, but simply that the West India Company held their monopoly in their own hands, and slave-trading could not be prosecuted as secretly as ordinary smuggling. But the colonists persisted in demanding free trade in slaves, and in 1652 they carried their point. That year permission was granted to import negroes directly from the African coast, and two ship-loads were brought over. Within two years the trade had become general; but most of the cargoes were obtained second-hand from wholesale importers in Curaçoa,—a more profitable and less dangerous venture, as well as requiring less capital, than to hunt down the victims in the African wilds.

New Netherland gains share in slave trade

Large importations continued to be made also by the Company and the municipality of New Amsterdam. These were sold at public auction, in exchange for beaver-skin currency and produce; and to prevent a shortage in domestic service, it was always stipulated in the purchase contract that none of these official consignments should be removed beyond the limits of the colony. Stuyvesant enjoyed and repeatedly utilized the special privilege of importing slaves for his own use.

From these beginnings the trade grew rapidly, until within a few years the slave-ships annually discharged hundreds of their miserable victims at the wharves of New Amsterdam. The income from this source amounted to a princely revenue, when it caught the attention and excited the avarice of the Duke of York.

And improves it

Governor Stuyvesant was not long in realizing the futility of his effort to secure the favor of the English court, and his mistake in alienating the friendship of the New-Englanders, whose coolness toward their new sovereign was patent to the world: jeopardizing a possible alliance at home for an impossible one abroad. He had an inkling of the Stuart purpose regarding the Dutch possessions, and like a sensible politician, decided to waste no time before making an effort to recover the ground he had lost.

1664

Stuyvesant wishes alliance with New England

He accordingly set out on a visit of state to Massachusetts and Connecticut. On arriving at Boston, he was entertained by Governor Endicott and the magistrates with great formality and apparent good-will. Their former rivalry seemed to be forgotten in the apprehension of a common danger. No doubt Endicott and Stuyvesant recognized, each in the other, an aged, valiant, and virtuous champion of his country's cause, and felt a sincere mutual admiration. But so far as any alliance with the Dutch was concerned, the visit was a failure. The Puritans would do nothing more to irritate the King. Neither were they averse to a union of all the Atlantic colonies under the British flag, as it would give them better protection against the Indians, and subserve their interests commercially.

Visits Massachusetts

Stuyvesant was keenly disappointed at the failure of his mission in Massachusetts; but he hoped for something better in Connecticut. He was mistaken: he was received with the same

And Connecticut

1664

friendly spirit, but his negotiations were equally barren of results. Winthrop pursued the same diplomatic but uncompromising course as Endicott. Both were acting from the same motives. The Dutch diplomat had succeeded, however, in making some weighty friendships, which were of value to him in his subsequent career as a private citizen. While still in Connecticut, he was suddenly recalled by the appearance of the English fleet in the harbor of New Amsterdam; and he hastened homeward, determined to fight for the rights which he had failed to strengthen by a visionary alliance.

Results of Stuyvesant's tour

The downfall of Dutch colonial rule in America could not by any possibility have been averted: a far stronger power wanted both the territory and the trade, and its overflow of population was washing over the Dutch landmarks like an advancing tide. But the collapse was more sudden, and more bitter from the lack of any decent resistance, because the inhabitants were so ill-governed that they were glad of the change, and home loyalty was swamped by personal interest. Knowing as we do the Dutch racial tenacity, this is our strongest proof that the government was really intolerable: it is as if the Boers had surrendered without a blow. Indeed, the comparison has other elements of likeness: there too the Dutch strength was sapped by a very large proportion of the colonial population being Englishmen, who disliked the Dutch rule and considered it both corrupt and capricious. But in the New Amsterdam case,

Bad government of New Netherland

even the Dutch had no heart to fight. The chronic feud between them and the arbitrary governors,—even if the fault was largely their own,—the offensive officials, the illiberal commercial laws, and so on, had taken the heart out of them. It must not be forgotten, also, that they were governed not by Holland direct, but by the Dutch West India Company; it was not loyalty to their country they were throwing off, but allegiance to a corporation to which they owed no loyalty.

Dutch loyalty not earned

Stuyvesant was also a religious persecutor; but it would be impossible to tell now whether this weakened his general weight with the public. The Dutch Calvinists were among the harshest partisans of the world, far beyond the average English Puritans; and Stuyvesant's heaviest hand was laid on their enemies the Lutherans. It displeased his employers, for state and business reasons; we do not know whether it displeased his subjects so much. As to his Quaker persecution, it left Massachusetts completely in the shade so far as it went, but the chief protester was a French Huguenot relative, naturally sympathizing with a fellow-victim.

Stuyvesant's persecutions

As the Lutherans increased in numbers, they became bolder and besought a separate place of worship. This was denied, not only because their mode of baptism differed from the Reformed Church, but because it would open the door to other dangerous schismatics, as the English Puritans of Long Island. He bombarded them with printed proclamations pointing out their gross

Of Lutherans

1655–7

errors; and when some of them met for service, he threw them into the common jail and fined them. When a Lutheran minister came over from Holland and attempted to preach, he was driven from the colony. The Lutherans now sent over a complaint to the Directors at Amsterdam, who reprimanded the governor sharply; referred to the fact that religious freedom had made Holland the asylum of Europe, vastly increasing her wealth and influence; suggested that there might be a "needless preciseness" in baptism; and plainly hinted that if he persisted in denying the Lutherans a meeting-house, they would see that one was provided. This put an end to their persecution.

Company reproves persecution of Lutherans

At Flushing on Long Island were a few Anabaptists. One of them, a poor shoemaker named Wickendam, recently come from Rhode Island, not only propounded the gospel, but rebaptized converts in the river; while the sheriff, William Hallet, permitted the meetings to be held in his house, and the sacrament to be administered by the shoemaker. Both sheriff and shoemaker were arrested, fined, and ordered to leave the country.

Anabaptists persecuted

Within less than a year afterward, a ship arrived having on board several Quakers, some of them banished from Boston the year before after being in a jail for a time, and now on their way to Rhode Island; "where all kinds of scum dwell," as the dominies declared in their account of the event, "for it is nothing else than a sink of New England." Among these were two women, Dorothy Waugh and Mary Witherhead, come from

Quakers come to New Amsterdam

their exile in Barbadoes. No sooner were they landed than they went diligently about the streets proclaiming the word of God, and warning a wicked generation to flee from the wrath to come. Crowds of curious and more or less amused Dutch people followed them constantly: this free preaching was a great treat for the New-Amsterdamers, and gave them something to talk about. Finally the half-wild appearance and vehement utterances of the women began to make an impression on their simple-minded hearers. This irritated and alarmed the governor, and he ordered the women sent away; their hands were tied behind their backs, and they were driven on board the ship and sent on their journey to Rhode Island. But they preached to the gaping crowds as they walked from the prison to the ship, and glorified God in the belief that they were his honored instruments for advancing his work.

1657

Quaker women driven out

Another member of this company fared much worse. His name was Robert Hodgson, or Hodshone; he sought out the English town of Hempstead on Long Island, gathered a congregation, and preached to them earnestly. Stuyvesant ordered him apprehended and brought to New Amsterdam; he was tied to the tail of a cart on which rode two young Quaker women, and dragged to the city across the rough country in the night, so that he could not see to protect himself, and "much torn and abused." The women were set free, but Hodgson was not even permitted to offer a defense. His sentence was read to him in Low

Hodgson punished

Dutch, of which he understood not a word. He
1657 was to pay a fine of six hundred guilders ($600), spend his nights for two years in a dungeon, and labor during the daytime.

This was worse than the Massachusetts sentences, because it was not an alternative to departure, and intended merely to be rid of the Quakers: it was to make him recant. For three
Dutch brutality to Hodgson the Quaker days he was kept all the day in the heat of the sun, chained to a wheelbarrow, his body being much bruised and swelled with blows, and he kept without food. Then he was again taken before the governor; but he was still unrepentant and stubborn. "What law have I broken?" he asked in all humility. The only reply he received was, that he should work or be whipped every day; and he was threatened with still severer punishment if he dared to speak to any one. The threat only stimulated him in his resolution; he spoke to whomever would listen. The threat was enforced. With his feet tied to a heavy log, and cords around his hands, he was drawn up until every muscle was stretched to its utmost tension; and while in this position his body was beaten and gashed with rods until insensibility released him. Then he was taken down and thrust into his dungeon, where a kind-hearted countrywoman was permitted to wash and dress his wounds and nurse him back to life.

We have only his own story for this; but those who remember the massacre of Amboyna, and know how ready Dutch officials were with

tortures in those days, will find no difficulty in crediting it. Let us remember, to English credit, that even Massachusetts did not put Quakers to the "question." But probably Stuyvesant himself was ashamed of his futile cruelty; and when his sister-in-law, Anna Bayard, daughter of a Huguenot refugee, remonstrated with indignation and compassion, Stuyvesant had his victim released, and troubled the Quakers no more. In fact, they and other proscribed sects seem to have disseminated their doctrines with freedom, and doubtless made English though hardly many Dutch converts.

1660–3

Stuyvesant gives over violence to Quakers

Perhaps the last case of religious persecution in New Netherland, at least of sufficient importance to secure a standing in history, was in 1663, the year before the advent of the British. John Browne of Flushing was an Englishman converted by the Quakers; he was arrested, fined, and imprisoned, but refused to recant or pay his fine. Stuyvesant dared not resort again to barbarities, or thought them useless; and sent Browne a prisoner to Holland, with a letter to the Directors explaining his offense, and stating that other disturbers would be more severely dealt with. Browne defended himself before the high court at Amsterdam so ably as completely to win his case. The Directors not only set him free and returned him to his American home, but wrote a scathing letter to Stuyvesant. They declared that while they preferred there should be neither Quakers nor other dissenters in New Netherland,

But John Browne is deported

1663

they did not consider it wise to attempt their suppression by force; and again reminded the governor that it was very poor business policy for a commercial colony to oppress enterprising citizens on account of their religious opinion. "Let every one remain free," they said, "as long as he does not offend others or oppose the government. . . . This maxim of moderation has been the rule of the magistrates of Amsterdam. Tread thus in their steps, and we doubt not you will be blessed." When Browne was returned to New Amsterdam, he met Governor Stuyvesant, and he records the fact that the governor "seemed ashamed of what he had done."

Directors again censure persecution

To return to the larger issues, not affected by these things. The new Board of Trade and Plantations, which under Charles II. carried on a vast and skillful scheme of colonial policy,—usually lost sight of in the picturesque frivolities or degrading iniquities of Charles himself,—wished to enforce the Navigation Acts to turn the colonial commerce their own way; and New Netherland was the chief obstacle to doing it. This opening in the gates made an effective cordon impossible. It was this more than anything else which made the government determined to absorb the Dutch colony, and leave no loophole for evading its restrictive system.

British policy under Navigation Acts

For a pretext, Charles caused insulting memorials to be forwarded to the States-General, urging the most groundless complaints, and accusing them of wrongs they had never thought of

Picking a quarrel

committing. But the Hollanders were a commercial people, conscious of inferior resources and desirous of peace. It is very difficult to quarrel with a rival determined to remain in a good humor, and Charles found it so in the present instance. Rather strangely, the Dutch themselves furnished the occasion for bringing the difficulty to an end. The Treaty of Hartford, as far back as 1650, had made a provisional settlement of the boundary, which is still substantially that of the line between Connecticut and New York; but it had never been ratified. With the spread of settlement, some conclusion grew ever more imperative; and in January 1664 the Dutch ambassador at London demanded its completion. It was completed in March by granting all Connecticut west of its great river, with Long Island and everything east of the Delaware, to the Duke of York; thus abolishing New Netherland entirely, as well as doing much else that does not concern us here.

1664

Treaty of Hartford

"Completed" at Dutch expense

Without waiting to take possession of his new empire, the Duke three months after the date of his charter ceded to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley, for a "competent sum of money," that portion of its southwestern limits which was subsequently erected into the province of New Jersey. These two courtiers were already proprietaries of Carolina, but it seems they were anxious to obtain a footing further northward.

Creation of New Jersey

In April the Duke dispatched four war-ships and about four hundred men to North America to

establish his authority at New Netherland. There
1664 was certain to be no serious fight, but to insure that fact the force must be strong. The commander was his personal friend, Sir Richard Nicholls; one of a remarkable group of subordinates sent over by James, so able and disinterested as to suggest that general opinion is unfair to James II. Nicholls had served with distinction in the Continental wars, and was peculiarly fitted for the duty now intrusted to him,—primarily civil rather than military,—not only on account of his courage and judgment, but from speaking both Dutch and French as fluently as his native tongue. In addition to this service under the Duke of York, he was commissioned by the King to hear and adjust the old disputes between the English colonies, and between them and the mother country. In this latter duty he was to have the assistance of a special commission consisting of Sir Robert Carr, Sir George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, who sailed with the expedition.

Nicholls' expedition against Dutch

Rumors of the object of the expedition had preceded it, and Stuyvesant put the city in as good a state of defense as possible, which was not much; but he was informed from home that there was no danger. The States-General were warned of its purpose also, and made complaints to the English court; but they were assured that it was wholly for the purpose of adjusting disputes with the English colonies. Only a few weeks before the arrival of the hostile fleet, a vessel came over

English prevarication

from Holland bringing a new company of colonists and a large supply of agricultural implements. 1664

The squadron reached Boston late in July, where it remained nearly a month before sailing for New Amsterdam. This interval covered a portion of Governor Stuyvesant's visit to Massachusetts and Connecticut; but the British commander concealed his purpose from the Dutch governor, though making no secret of it to the authorities of Massachusetts and Connecticut, whom he informed that the King expected their co-operation. Connecticut responded readily, and furnished her quota of troops in time to sail with the squadron—she would gladly have done it far earlier; but the governor of Massachusetts delayed so long that the whole business was over before his troops were ready to march.

Nicholls first visits Boston

Thus it happened that the British flag-ship was sailing up the bay at New Amsterdam before Stuyvesant was recalled to the scene of action by a hasty message. By the time he reached home the whole squadron was lying at anchor in the lower bay, next to Long Island. The British had also taken possession of a blockhouse on Staten Island, which commanded the channel from that side. The harbor was now effectually blockaded, and the country people within reach of the British ships were forbidden to convey any kind of food into the city. So adroitly had Colonel Nicholls carried out his plans that the Dutch were wholly unprepared for resistance, had such been seriously

Blockades New Amsterdam

1664

contemplated. A proclamation was widely distributed among the people, assuring them that no one should be molested who submitted quietly and took the oath of allegiance to England—the last thing, of course, that England wished to do; and Nicholls faithfully kept every promise he made. The effect of the proclamation was precisely what Nicholls intended. Even the Dutch inhabitants wished only a decent excuse for keeping quiet, and there was nothing in the state of the other English colonies to make them fear becoming one. Contrasted with their own condition, the others must have seemed inviting. And of course the English population, a good share of the whole, wished nothing better.

Nicholls' first proclamation

The gallant Stuyvesant acted with his usual energy and intrepidity; but his action came too late, and any action would have come too late. He at once indited a fiery letter to the English commander, demanding a reason for the presence of a hostile fleet in Dutch waters. He also began vigorous measures for defense; but he was seconded only by his officials and soldiers, and that without much heart. Nicholls replied in the politest terms possible, but with diplomatic shrewdness. He had been commanded by his royal master to take charge of British territory usurped by the Dutch; the King entertained a warm affection for that people, out of gratitude for their kindness to him while in exile, yet he could not in honor suffer them to retain possession of territory which of right belonged to the English nation. Nicholls

Stuyvesant's protest

Nicholls' reply

must therefore demand its instant surrender. The King was averse to shedding Christian blood, and had authorized him to guarantee security of life, liberty, and estate to all who submitted without resistance and took the oath of allegiance; but all who should resist his gracious Majesty's purposes must prepare themselves for the miseries of relentless war. 1664 New Netherland required to yield

Governor Winthrop of Connecticut had accompanied its contingent, and now added his earnest solicitations in a letter to Stuyvesant, urging him to accept the proffered terms and save his people the horrors of bombardment and assault. Winthrop was closely united to the Dutch governor and other prominent citizens of New Amsterdam through bonds of friendship and mutual esteem; and from his position, such mediation could be honorably accepted. Winthrop urges it

Stuyvesant did not feel misgoverned by himself, and could give rein to his rage at Nicholls' demand without the considerations which mollified others. Hastily calling a meeting of the burgomasters and council, he endeavored in an impassioned harangue to infuse his own spirit into their breasts. For answer, they coolly desired to see Nicholls' letter. Both they and Stuyvesant knew perfectly well that its terms were only what were already published and notorious; but he did not care to give them a technical excuse for evading duty. He therefore declared that the English required the surrender of their country's sovereignty and their own independence. This was literally Stuyvesant and his council

true; but they were bent on knowing just what
1664 conditions were imposed, before involving themselves and their people in a hopeless and ruinous fight to save the governor's pride. They persisted in their request to see the letter, and the governor was just as persistent in his determination not to show it to them.

At length, snatching it from his pocket, he tore it into fragments and scattered them broadcast over the table and the floor—"dilacerated" it, as the burgomasters afterward explained. They were amazed and horrified: so gross an insult to the British commander gave him a right to resent it by an immediate bombardment of their town. Stuyvesant himself, after the first paroxysms of his rage had subsided, seems to have realized the gravity of his act; for he caused the fragments of the letter to be gathered up and carefully pasted together in their original form. Then, impressed by the futility of attempting to arouse his companions' martial spirit, he dismissed the meeting, resolved to appeal to the generosity of the British commander.

Struggle of Stuyvesant and council

He accordingly forwarded to Nicholls a request for a conference, either in person or by authorized representatives. Nicholls immediately dispatched a delegation of officers to confer with him. Stuyvesant stated his view of the case, exhibited the original grant of the States-General and his own commission, and in a long and able argument maintained that a colony thus formally incorporated with the Dutch dominion could not be

legally or justly attacked while peace prevailed between his country and England. He mentioned with special emphasis the Hartford Treaty of 1650 between himself and the colonies, and offered this as evidence of the acknowledgment of the Dutch claim. Unfortunately, this was in the Cromwellian era, and legally invalid, besides being incomplete. The governor protested that the English King could not have dispatched this expedition with a full knowledge of the facts; and offered a provisional arrangement depending on a reference to the parent states. "As touching the threats in your conclusion," he said, "we have nothing to answer, but what God (who is as just as merciful) shall lay upon us; all things being in his gracious disposal; and we may as well be preserved by him with small forces as by a great army; which makes us to wish you all happiness and prosperity, and recommend you to his protection."

1664

Stuyvesant protests against assault

But the argument was wasted breath, as he must have known. The British officers could only carry out their orders: if their country receded afterwards, they could evacuate the place. Nicholls lost no further time in arranging to invest the city. Meantime he issued another proclamation of like tenor to the first, and caused it to be circulated throughout New Netherland and among the Swedes along the Delaware. It repeated the former terms, and added that all who would "submit to his Majesty's government as good subjects should be protected in his Majesty's laws and justice, and peaceably enjoy whatsoever God's

Nicholls' second proclamation

1664

blessings and their own honest industry have furnished them with." The Swedish settlers were assured of the advantages that would accrue to them under the powerful English monarchy, where their interests would be guarded and promoted with affectionate solicitude by the King, while they would be relieved from all the cares of state and protected against encroachments from foreign powers. They were more than ready to be convinced: why should they fight for Dutch against English? Even the Dutch believed rightly that they would be much freer under England than they ever had been under the Company. Stuyvesant could hardly have driven them into battle for a nominal sovereignty they had never felt and that had done them no good. But as for himself, he contended to the last, and secured several concessions that were of value to his people. When he finally surrendered, it was only as a last resort, to keep the people from opening the gates and turning the keys over to the enemy.

Dutch and Swedes willing to submit

By the terms of the treaty, the Dutch garrison was to march out with all the honors of war; the States-General and the West India Company should retain their ammunition and public stores, and be allowed six months to transport them to Holland; the inhabitants should be free to sell their estates and return to their native country, or retain them and reside in the settlements at their pleasures; all who chose to remain should enjoy their ancient customs with respect to inheritance of property, liberty of conscience in divine

Stuyvesant's capitulation

worship, and perpetual exemption from military service. 1664

Never were there more liberal terms. Victors and vanquished were placed on perfectly equal terms, without any exasperating conditions to produce friction in the future. The Dutch had in fact gained greatly in the assurance of religious freedom, exemption from military service, and an unshackled trade. The British authorities faithfully carried out all the stipulations. With such fairness and justice was the whole matter consummated that it resulted in lasting friendship and concord between the two races. The Dutch became the most loyal of citizens. Even Stuyvesant was fully reconciled, and continued to wield a large influence as a private citizen in the future government of the colony.

Generous English laws

Good results

As a concession to the patriotic pride of the old governor, a special clause was inserted in the treaty. It provided that if at any time in the future the King of England and the States-General should mutually desire the restoration of the colony to Holland, it should be done! Another clause seems to have been accepted with some degree of insincerity, and was the only feature of the treaty subsequently disregarded. The Dutchmen who remained in the colony, or might subsequently resort thither, were to enjoy the privilege of free trade with Holland. This would have nullified the chief object of the seizure, and overthrown the entire colonial policy of England.

Concessions to Stuyvesant

1664

These favorable provisions were all special concession to the merits of the old warrior-governor; but even after they had been agreed upon, he refused to ratify the treaty until the second day after it had been signed by the commissioners on both sides. He held out, hoping that something would occur to save him from this humiliation.

Stuyvesant's reluctant submission

Thus disappeared the only Dutch colony on the continent of North America. By the beginning of October 1664, the whole province acknowledged the sovereignty of the British King and came under his control. The name of the colony as well as that of the city was immediately changed to New York, in honor of the King's brother, in whose behalf the expedition had been undertaken.

Whatever the initial justice or injustice of the measure, it resulted in infinite good. It consolidated diverse territories, blended opposing races, and produced a new and mighty people for the dissemination of liberty and justice throughout the world. These results could not have been attained if the Dutch had continued in possession of New Netherland, and established there an alien nation between the eastern and the southern colonies of the English. Under such conditions the war for independence and the union of the States would have been impossible.

New Netherland renamed

PART VI.

The Making of a Nation

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE QUAKER COLONIES

I.—TO THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA

There were several colonies of Quakers in America before Penn's establishment. George Fox, the founder of the sect, visited the New World in 1672, not so much with a view to making new converts as to search out and commune with those already of his faith. He found many in Maryland, living in harmony with the Catholic inhabitants; many more in Virginia, finding even under Berkeley's intolerant rule that peace which comes from non-resistance. But it was mainly in Rhode Island, Long Island, and along the eastern shores of New Jersey, that the Quaker refugees had sought abiding-places after withdrawing from New England. Fox remained a year in America, and carried back to England pleasant reports of the East Jersey region, which greatly stimulated Quaker emigration thither. This was the beginning of Penn's active interest in the New World, and the genesis of the "Holy Experiment" which led to the establishment of Pennsylvania.

First American Quakers

William Penn belonged to an ancient Welsh family. His grandfather and father were celebrated sea-fighters; he is one of many instances

in history where physical fighting blood has formed the most strenuous moral fighting blood.

Admiral Penn

The father took part in the English Revolution upon its outbreak in 1642, and was in command of a vessel while a mere youth. In 1643 he married Margaret Jasper, daughter of a wealthy merchant of Rotterdam; and with his man-of-war *Fellowship* was proceeding down the Thames on his way to the Irish Sea when he received word of the birth of a son. He soon gained the position of Rear-Admiral and Vice-Admiral of Ireland, and became Vice-Admiral of England at thirty-one. In 1665 Cromwell gave him command of the fleet operating against the Spanish West Indies, with the army under General Venables. Jamaica was brilliantly conquered, but the attack on St. Domingo resulted in disaster. Cromwell held Penn responsible, lodged him in the Tower on his return, and never again intrusted him with any position; but he was elected to Parliament the same year by the opposition party. Like George Monk, he had fought for his country and public order, not as a party man; he excited no rancor in the Stuarts: and after the Restoration he was reinstated in office, and became very popular both with Charles II. and the Duke of York, under whom he was captain-commander in the Dutch war of 1655. For this service he was knighted, and as the war went on was made a lieutenant-general, serving on land with equal distinction.

The militance and the likable personality of the father both descended on the son. Both were

ADMIRAL PENN.

too stubborn to be always congenial; but the son did full justice to the father's worth, and the father was forced to respect the son whom he loved. William Penn's devoutness of temper was inherited from and trained in by his mother, a high-spirited woman of a deeply religious nature, who in her husband's long absences had the molding of the boy's character wholly in her own hands. She had likewise a wonderful degree of gentleness and refinement, which were equally manifest in her son.

Penn's parents

She had also the solid sense that does not always go with so pious a nature. At ten she sent him to school at Chiswell in Essex, to gain manliness by contact and conflict with other boys. He was no milksop or ascetic. Indeed, his strong physical constitution overflowed with animal spirits; and no boy in his class more keenly relished a practical joke, or found greater enjoyment in the sports and exercises of the play-ground. He was a good scholar as well, and at fifteen was sent to Oxford. Here his father's reputation secured him free association among the noblemen's sons who attended the institution. Many of these youths were of dissolute and worthless character, but he seems to have escaped contamination—certainly he showed none ever.

His boyhood

Penn received his first lesson in religious persecution at sixteen, when curiosity led him to hear an eminent Quaker preacher named Thomas Loe. It was his first introduction to Quaker doctrines, and they with the preacher's eloquence made a

First hears Quaker doctrine

profound impression on him. He discontinued
1660 attendance at the Anglican church, and became a regular visitor at the unpretentious Quaker "meeting-house"; for which he was first remonstrated with and then fined. His human pride and ancestral stubbornness rose: he defied his father's
Penn's stubborn Quakerism admonitions and the frowns of the faculty, and refused to attend any other services. This was Restoration time; and all Oxford students were shortly ordered to wear the surplice. Penn not only refused to obey the royal mandate, but with others united to mob the students who had donned the habit, and tore the garments over their heads. He was promptly expelled from the college and sent home; his father's position doubtless saved him from worse.

The father was beside himself with rage. He had but recently been restored to official favor, and this family black sheep was not conducive to keeping it; he hated religious irregularity, and the
Sent to France for cure Quakers he especially detested. Moreover, it was reported to him that his son was even preaching Quakerism. To save him from ruin and himself from discredit, he called him home, and with fine clothes, a sword, and plenty of money, sent him away to Paris to be reformed into a man of the world. Penn was not beyond having a good time, and plunged into French pleasures with a zest highly gratifying to the admiral; but nature and his mother's work prevented him from being harmed. The admiral was so well satisfied that he sent him to Dublin as manager of his Irish

WILLIAM PENN AT 22.

estates. At a later time it was charged that in the Irish capital he led a wild and reckless life; but he denied it, and we may disbelieve it in the lack of evidence or likeness to his other conduct. 1662–6

At this period he had considerable military experience, on board the flag-ship of the English fleet with his father, contending with the Dutch in the North Sea; and was afterward attached to the viceregal Court of the Duke of Ormond at Dublin. He joined as a volunteer under Lord Arran in suppressing a mutiny among the troops at Carrickfergus; and was given a commission as ensign of cavalry for bravery in that affair. While in this service he displayed a gallantry in keeping with his ancestry, and won his father's unqualified admiration; but military life was not to his taste, and he soon gave it up and devoted his attention wholly to the duties of a landholder. The King appointed him an important customs official at Dublin. **Penn's worldly career**

His life now seemed marked out in official routine; but a chance revival of old associations soon drew him into his heart's chosen service, and fixed his destiny beyond recall. A street placard for a Quaker meeting having led him to attend, he found to his delight that the minister was the well-remembered Thomas Loe. The discourse revived all his former aspirations. He laid aside his uniform, assumed the demure garb of his sect, joined regularly in their devotional exercises, and speedily became one of their most eloquent preachers. Such an accession to Quakerism from high **Exchanged for religious**

officialdom and the steps of the court created a
1666–9 tremendous sensation. The evil news came quickly to his father, who wrote him a scathing remonstrance; and finding him obdurate, cut off his al-
Penn's breach with his father lowance and discharged him from the agency of his estates. Left thus without employment or an income, Penn began to write controversial tracts on the Quaker belief; and his social prominence co-operated with his abilities as a writer to give his productions a wide circulation.

One of his most sensational works of that period was "The Sandy Foundation Shaken": a bold denial of the doctrines of the Trinity, of "the
Theological work impossibility of God's pardoning sinners without a plenary satisfaction," and of vicarious atonement. It was denounced as atheistic and infidel, and all the churches united in condemning it. Penn was arrested and confined in the Tower for nine months; and during this confinement he pro-
In prison duced his most popular theological work, entitled "No Cross, no Crown." At length, through the influence of the Duke of York, he was released and permitted to live in his father's house; but the admiral would not admit his son to his presence.

Penn continued to write and preach in spite
Reconciled with his father of all opposition; and finally, through the intercession of his mother, he was once more sent to Ireland as agent for the family estates. But he remained only for a short time; for his father was now in feeble health, and finding his affairs greatly embarrassed, earnestly sought a reconciliation with

his son. In fact, he may himself have become at heart a Quaker; for his last words to his son were to this effect: "Son William, I charge you, do nothing against your conscience. If you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world."

1669–72

Admiral Penn's death

In 1671 Penn was again locked up in Newgate for six months, on the charge of being present at a Quaker meeting; but this was his last imprisonment. He had the graces though not the unscrupulousness of a courtier, and his personality always inspired great liking as well as respect. After the death of the admiral, so far from being persecuted, he became so powerful a factor at court that he was constantly applied to by those who were persecuted, or had claims against the government, for intercession; so that during the remainder of Charles II.'s reign and throughout James II.'s he was an almost daily visitor at court, except when absent from the country. This has been the basis of cruelly unjust aspersions on him.

William Penn's triumph

In 1672 Penn made a tour into Germany and Holland which had vast results later on; preaching the doctrines of Quakerism to willing ears, and paving the way for the great emigrations to Pennsylvania in the next decade, based on knowledge and confidence in Penn as well as the prospectuses of the province. On his return he married the daughter of Sir William Springett, who bore him one son, but soon died.

Tour on the Continent

1681 Penn was a trustee for one of the Quaker proprietors of East Jersey, and it was doubtless this which led him to form the idea of a new Quaker state in America, for a free and progressive community. "It is my purpose," he said, "so to serve the truth and people of the Lord, that an example may be set to the nation;" adding, "There may be room there, though not here, for such an holy experiment." He therefore made application to Charles for a district in America, in lieu of his father's claim for £16,000 which he had inherited. To enlarge the British Empire, augment its trade, and promote the glory of God by the civilization and conversion of the savages, were the "common form" objects set forth by all colonizers; but his conception of a community better than any that the conditions in Europe would allow, is further glorified by its execution.

Penn applies for land grant

Charles II. was heartily pleased with this opportunity to settle an old debt, unquestionably sound, for moneys advanced by the admiral, with the donation of a piece of wilderness inhabited by savages and wild beasts. Accordingly, in consideration of two beaver-skins annually and the stock "fifth part of the gold and silver," the King granted to Penn on March 4, 1681, a territory of forty thousand square miles; an empire of more property value at the present time than all the realms of Great Britain at the date of the concession. The Lords of Trade objected to sending non-resisting Quakers among the savages of America, but the King united his influence to

Receives it

Penn's eloquence in overcoming their scruples. The King facetiously told Penn he must not take to scalping; and not facetiously, that he must practice entire toleration toward members of the Church of England. Penn accepted the condition, which accorded with his preference: the Oxford spirit was but youthful effervescence. He wished to call his dominions New Wales; but the under-secretary of state, himself a Welshman, objected to giving the name to a Quaker settlement. Penn then suggested Sylvania, "Forest Land"; but the King declared that the nomination belonged to him, and he would call it Penn, in honor of his old friend the admiral. Penn protested that the name would be universally taken for his, since his father had never been connected with the undertaking. "Then," said the King, "we will call it Penn's Sylvania;" and thus the subject was dismissed.

1681

Pennsylvania named

The boundaries were only settled by a long struggle, as was usually the case with American grants, there being much ignorance of American geography and a good deal of carelessness. Penn's province was to be bounded east by the Delaware, and extend five degrees westward; on the north it extended to the *beginning* of 43°, taken from the head of the Delaware or from a line run straight north from that head; on the south to the beginning of 40°. This would go on the north through the heart of the Duke of York's province of New York, and come three miles north of the present city hall in Philadelphia. The Duke of

Boundary difficulties

1681

course would not give up his lands, and an ingenious solution of the conflict was devised: that to the beginning of a degree of latitude meant to the end of the last preceding degree! So Penn had 42° for a northern boundary; but that would give him 39° for the southern, take in the Delaware and upper Chesapeake Bays, and ruin Baltimore's province. The latter was up in arms over this; and an eighty years' fight ensued, ending in a compromise by which Pennsylvania gave up her claims in order to secure access to her great city. But even at the outset there was trouble with the Duke of York over this line also: he wished to keep the old Swedish territory on the Delaware as part of his province, and a line was struck on a radius twelve miles north from the court-house in New Castle.

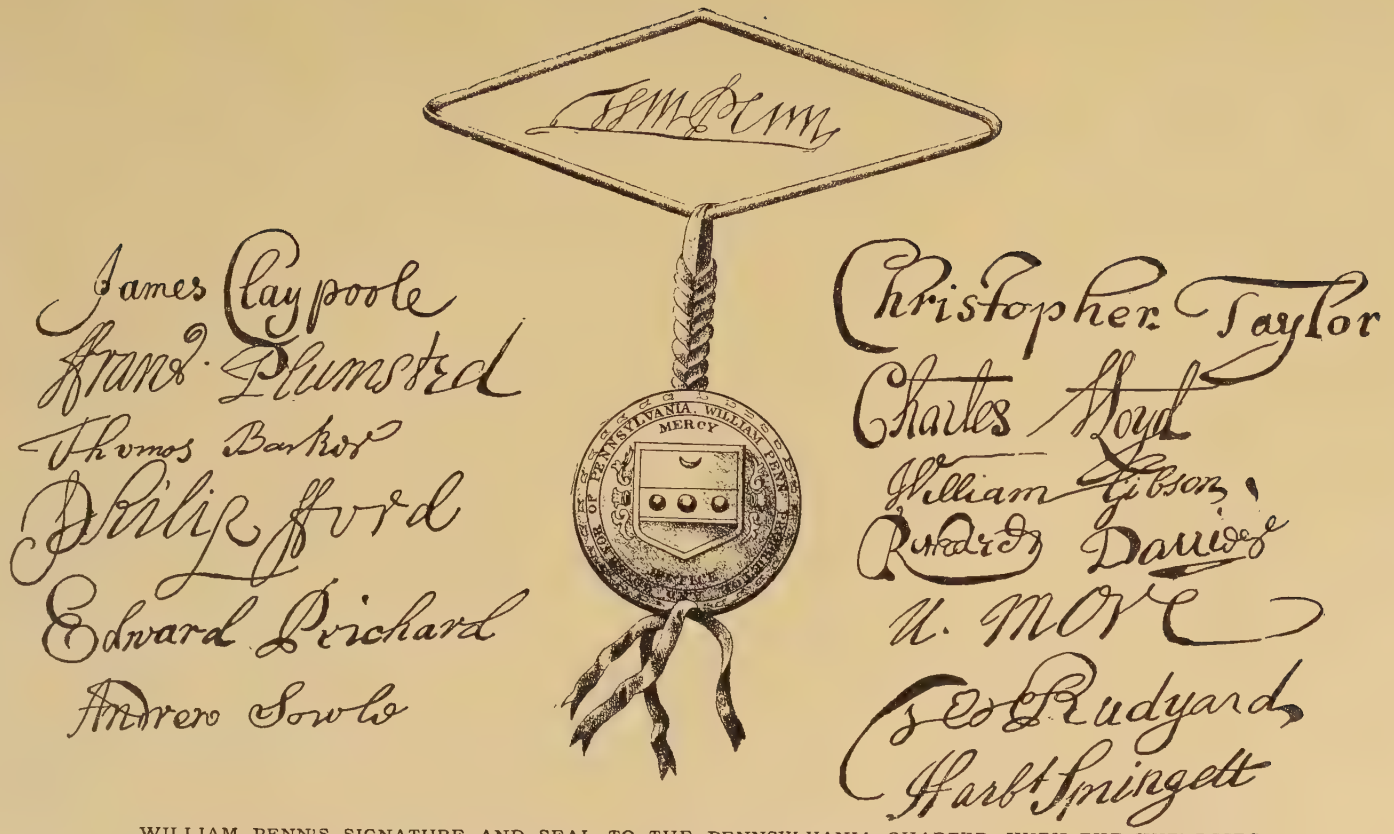
Penn and Baltimore at odds

On the 2d of April, Charles signed a proclamation announcing to the inhabitants of the territory that William Penn had become their absolute proprietary, and was invested with all the powers and pre-eminences necessary for the government. This was accompanied by the following proclamation from Penn himself:

Charles II.'s proclamation

"My Friends: I wish you all happiness here and hereafter. These are to lett you know, that it hath pleased God in his Providence to cast you within my Lott and Care. It is a business, that though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty and an honest minde to doe it uprightly. I hope you

Penn's letter to old colonists



WILLIAM PENN'S SIGNATURE AND SEAL TO THE PENNSYLVANIA CHARTER, WITH THE WITNESSES.

will not be troubled at your chainge and the king's choice; for you are now fixt, at the mercy of no Governour that comes to make his fortune great. You shall be governed by laws of your own makeing, and live a free, and if you will, a sober and industreous People. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. God has furnisht me with a better resolution, and has given me the grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with. I beseech God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you. I am your true Friend, WM. PENN."

Penn's letter to old colonists

The charter of Pennsylvania was drawn by Penn himself, aided by the advice of Sir William Jones, the attorney-general, and Henry Sidney, brother of Penn's friend Algernon; and after a study of other colonial charters, its variations from which must therefore be held intentional. Penn was absolute proprietary so long as the stipulated obligation was paid, and had the vast palatine powers of other colonial proprietaries, with a limitation like that imposed by Baltimore upon himself. He might make laws not contrary to English law (which ruled *ad interim*), "with the advice and consent of the free men of the territory assembled." This was rather vague, as no provision was made for the case of their refusing consent; legally, however, there is no doubt it would

Charter of Pennsylvania

1681 Charter of Pennsylvania

have nullified the law so objected to. He had the usual military powers of levy and war against insurrection, pirates, and savages; could alienate the soil to colonists; and could erect civil divisions and create ports of entry, constitute courts, appoint judges and other officers. He might pardon all crimes except murder and treason; for which reprieves might be granted until the King signified his pleasure, and appeals after conviction might be taken to the King.

Provincial laws were to be transmitted to the Privy Council within five years, and were valid meanwhile and if not declared void by the Council within six months thereafter. Residence was free to all not specially prohibited by name. Colonists could export into England, but no other country, and re-export within one year, subject to English customs and Acts of Navigation. The freemen in assembly could assess reasonable port duties, which were granted to the proprietary, with a reservation to the Crown of customs imposed by the Parliament. The proprietary must appoint a London agent to make satisfaction within a year for his principal's violations of the trade laws, in default of which satisfaction the King might take possession of the provincial government until it was made.

One very important (and later troublesome) provision was that "no custom or other contribution shall be levied on the inhabitants or their estates, unless by consent of the proprietary, or governor or Assembly, or by act of Parliament

in England,"—the clearest possible admission and stipulation of the right of Parliament to tax the colony; the very thing denied in the Revolution, and by James I. in abolishing the Virginia Company. 1681 Penn's charter

If twenty inhabitants requested the bishop of London to send them a preacher, the latter should reside and minister there without molestation; as a fact, all Protestant ministers might do so.

As always in case of doubt as to the true construction of the charter, the interpretation was to favor the proprietary, within lawful allegiance to the Crown.

Penn now turned his attention to securing inhabitants for his territory. He published an address giving an account of its resources, the soil and its products, and other relevant matters. He especially impressed upon the settlers the importance of making sure of the will of God; and urged them to obtain the consent of their near relations, that natural affection might be preserved, and a friendly and profitable correspondence be maintained between the two countries. The price of land was fixed at 40s. a hundred acres (about 40c. an acre now), with a perpetual quit-rent of a shilling. In clearing the land for cultivation, one acre of timber should be left for each five acres cleared; and oaks and mulberries carefully preserved for ships and silk. No planter would be permitted to overreach or otherwise injure the Indians, or even avenge a wrong at his own instance. Any complaints must be brought before a Penn's bid for colonists

magistrate, whose duty it would be to confer with
1681 the Indian sachem; and the two should select six men each from his own race, as a jury of arbitration. This conception was original with Penn.

His propositions met with a prompt response; there was a flood of applications for land, a majority from Quakers anxious to escape from persecution and seek freedom in the West. Penn himself was astonished at their eagerness. "Still," he said, "let no one move rashly; but have an eye to the providence of God." Better deliberate than regret. Doubtless their deliberation made the mass more permanent as colonists.

Colonists pour in

But others also longed for liberty, for security, and the prosperity of a rich new land; and Penn received many applications from persons and colonies who were not Quakers. A single association in Bristol bought twenty thousand acres and colonized them with good citizens. Germany and Holland also heard of the new land of promise and contributed thousands to their number. One German company, under the guidance of Franz Pastorius, bought and occupied fifteen thousand acres.

Non-Quakers numerous

About this time also Penn was tempted of the Devil. A company of traders offered him, for a monopoly of trade with the Indians between the Susquehanna and the Delaware, £6000 (say $100,000) and an annual revenue sufficient to maintain him and his family in luxury for the remainder of their lives. But Penn could have said like Lodowick Muggleton, "Loaves was never my aim." "I will not abuse the love of God," he declared, "nor

act unworthy of his Providence, by defiling what came to me clean." 1681

In drafting the framework of his new government, he was equally disinterested. "I purpose," he said, "that which is extraordinary, and leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country." But the eagerness of the intending settlers did not allow him time to draft the full scheme; he wrote the outline merely, and read it to the first company about to sail, under the leadership of William Markham his kinsman and secretary.

Penn outlines frame of government

Commissioners were appointed from its members to purchase the lands from the Indians, and make every effort to form a league of perpetual peace. Their instructions to treat the natives with justice and courtesy were substantially the same as those given to the Puritans of old; and they bore a letter from Penn to the Indians, accompanied by suitable presents. It assured them that the great God who had created all men, and commanded them to love and do good to one another, had been pleased to bring Penn to America; that the King of the English had bestowed upon him a province there, but that he desired to enjoy it only with the good-will and consent of the Indians; that many evil-disposed Europeans had used the Indians very ill, but that he was a person of different disposition, and bore great love and regard to them; that the people he now sent among them were similarly disposed, and wished to live

His commissioners to Indians

Land bought of Indians

among them as neighbors and friends. The instructions were faithfully carried out. A large tract of forest land west of the Delaware, and next to Penn's southern bound, was bought of the Indians; and here the first settlement was made, in August 1681.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE QUAKER SETTLEMENTS

II.—TO THE REVOLUTION

Penn in England proceeded with his draft, and in the spring of 1682 printed it as "The Frame of Government of the Province of Pennsylvania." It was preceded by a noble preface on the origin, nature, and objects of government: the latter being "first, to terrify evil-doers; secondly, to cherish those who do well." "They weakly err," he observes, "who think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarser part of it." As to its nature, "Any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to these laws." He holds to the principles of Algernon Sidney before and Jefferson later: "Governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments." Hence, the government must necessarily reflect the character of the people who make it. "Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn." Lastly, "Liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery."

1682

Penn's frame of government

1682 The proprietary or his deputy was to act as governor, and the freemen of the province to be represented in a Council and a General Assembly. The Council was to consist of seventy-two members, twenty-four replaced annually; the General Assembly, elected annually, to consist the first year of all the freemen, the next of two hundred elected by the rest, and afterward to be augmented in proportion to population. This was sufficiently democratic; but there was a serious limitation in the fact that the General Assembly could not originate laws, but only give or refuse assent to bills sent it by the Council and the governor. The people could block the government, like the Roman Tribunes, but not forward it. The Assembly was to present to the governor candidates for sheriffs and justices of the peace, naming double the requisite number, from whom he was to select one-half. The Council both originated and executed all the laws. Two-thirds made a quorum, and the assent of two-thirds of such quorum was necessary to valid action. The governor presided, with three votes but no veto.

Penn's frame of government

Popular control restricted

All elections were by ballot, a system of secrecy first introduced into America by Massachusetts for the purpose of dropping Governor Winthrop in 1634. But the conservative Quakers objected to it as cowardly; and Penn, who did not care, allowed them the old *viva voce* system. We know now that they were mistaken: a community of martyrs never existed, and the open vote is the bulwark of moral intimidation.

Ballot objected to

To this general frame was appended a code of forty conditional laws, to be submitted to the first provincial Assembly for acceptance or modification. Among other things, the rights of freemen should belong to all purchasers or renters of a hundred acres of land; to all indented servants or workmen who at the end of their term of service should cultivate fifty acres; and to all inhabitants paying "scot and lot"—a special tax on the principle of an income tax. No tax should be levied "but by a law for that purpose made," and whoever collected or paid other taxes should be held a public enemy and betrayer of the colony's liberties. An excellent provision was that "all prisons shall be workhouses"—he did not forecast that work's being necessarily of some kind would rouse jealousy in the honest doers of every particular kind. A thief should restore twice his theft, and in default of means work out the debt in prison. Though all a debtor's property was liable, two-thirds of his landed estate was reserved for his children, if any.

1682

Laws suggested by Penn

All children of twelve or over must be taught "some useful trade or skill," as poverty may come to all. No one should hold office or exercise any function of a freeman, but "such as profess faith in Jesus Christ, and are not convicted of ill-fame, or unsober and dishonest conversation." But all persons acknowledging the "one almighty and eternal God to be the creator, the upholder, and ruler of the world," and engaging to live peaceably and justly in society, were wholly exempt

General toleration

1683 from molestation "for their more particular opinions and practices," and were never to be compelled to "frequent or maintain any religious place, ministry, or worship whatever."

Murder and treason were the only crimes punishable with death; and in fact no gallows was erected in Pennsylvania during Penn's lifetime. Arbitration was favored in place of litigation; later it was made compulsory at the outset. Oaths were not exacted, as superfluous, since an honest man would tell the truth without it and a rascal would not stick at perjury; but the same end was attained by making lying a crime in or out of court. Drunkenness, cock-fighting, bull-baiting, card-playing, and theatrical performances were all misdemeanors, and punished. The New England Puritans have gained much opprobrium for banning the last two.

Laws suggested by Penn

Penn now applied to the Duke of York for a relinquishment of his claims to the strip along the west bank of the Delaware, extending to Lord Baltimore's domain, in order to secure a free passage to the sea. It contained about three thousand inhabitants; mainly Swedes, who had three meeting-houses, with a number of Dutch, who had one; there were some English also. Baltimore claimed it, and several futile incursions had been made from Maryland to drive away the inhabitants. The Duke favored Penn, and transferred to him (August 24, 1682) the town of New Castle, with the district twelve miles around it, and a tract extending southward to Cape Henlopen.

Penn obtains the future Delaware

For twenty years the territory of Delaware was governed as a part of Pennsylvania, each of the three counties sending six delegates to the General Assembly. But the old Swedish-Dutch population did not fuse with the new English arrivals. In 1703 the district was granted an independent Assembly; the proprietaries, however, retained all their vested rights until the Revolution, and the governor of Pennsylvania always presided over the Assembly of Delaware. In 1776 they declared their independence, and set up a government for themselves. They furnished a regiment of Continental regulars, one of the best in that army of heroes; and when the Federal Constitution was submitted to the colonies, Delaware was the first to ratify it.

Outline of Delaware history

Up to 1768 there was a perpetual boundary conflict between Maryland and Pennsylvania, and the entire line was the scene of contention, invasion, lawlessness, and riot. To end this disgraceful condition, in 1763 two distinguished English mathematicians and astronomers, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, were selected to run a permanent line. They were chosen not only as experts but umpires, being foreigners and of the highest standing; and it was agreed that their decision should be final. These gentlemen began their labors in December 1763. A large stone was planted at every fifth mile, with the Penn arms engraved on one side and the Baltimore on the other; the intermediate miles were marked with smaller stones, having "P" on one side and "M" on the

Mason and Dixon's line

other. Many of them are still standing in their original places. During the succeeding four years Mason and Dixon surveyed the line two hundred and forty-four miles west from the Delaware, and within thirty-six miles of the entire distance to be run, when Indian hostility compelled them to suspend operations and return to Philadelphia. The results of their work, with their plans and drawings, were accepted and they were discharged December 26, 1767.

Mason and Dixon's line

The last thirty-six miles remained unfinished until November 1782, when Colonel Alexander McLean of Pennsylvania and Joseph Neville of Virginia were engaged to complete the work. They accordingly went over the line from the start, testing and correcting the astronomical observations; and then finished the remainder of the survey, completing their work in 1784. In 1849 the old surveys were revised, and found to be correct in all essential particulars.

Penn now prepared to visit his province in person. Before going, he called on the King for a farewell audience. Charles greeted him cordially. "It will not be long," he said, "before I hear that you have gone into the savages' war-kettle: what is to prevent it?" "Their own inner light," replied Penn; "moreover, as I intend equitably to buy their lands, I shall not be molested." "Buy their lands!" exclaimed the King: "why, is not the whole land mine?" "Well," said Penn, "suppose a canoeful of savages should discover Great Britain: would you vacate or sell?" Charles had

Penn and Charles on land titles

A MASON AND DIXON BOUND-STONE.

(By permission of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.)

no reply ready, it would seem, and he closed the audience with a characteristic jest. The doctrine of the civilizing mission of superior states had not been invented, and that of their Christianizing one would have been held nauseous Puritan cant. 1682

On August 31, 1682, Penn set sail in the *Welcome,* with one hundred other passengers, most of them Quakers from his own county of Sussex, and a large retinue of servants; also horses, cattle, furniture, and provisions. **Penn's first voyage to America**

The vessel anchored at New Castle October 27, in the mellow haze of an ideal "Indian Summer"; the inmates were delighted with the glorious color and beauty of the landscape, and the sweet perfume of fruits. They were enraptured, and Penn wrote to England: "As to outward things we are satisfied; the land good, the air clear and sweet, the springs plentiful, and provision good and easy to come at; an innumerable quantity of wild fowl and fish; in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob would be well contented with." Penn's welcome had gone before him: the draft constitution was a proclamation of freedom to persecuted exiles. His new code of laws was equally approved. The whole population flocked to the old Dutch court-house at Newcastle, the day after his arrival, to see and greet him. Penn exhibited his royal patent, the deeds, and the charter; then the resident agents of the Duke of York made a formal transfer of the dominion. In a short, straightforward speech the proprietary repeated **Invested with his province**

1682

the substance of his letter, that he meant not to rule over them, but to plan and work for their good. Then, exhorting them to live sober and peaceful lives in amity with each other, he renewed the commissions of the magistrates and proceeded to Upland, where he met the Quakers who had come out with Markham. It was decided to call the first General Assembly here and give it an English name; the baptism was conceded to Penn's Quaker friend Thomas Pearson, who suggested the name of his own native city of Chester. This thriving city is now almost a suburb of Philadelphia.

Upland renamed Chester

Dividing his territory into six counties, or sections, Penn called the first Assembly. He would have preferred a mass-meeting at the start, but the freemen objected their inexperience and domestic duties, and sent the seventy-two delegates instead. They requested that these should serve both as councillors and assemblymen, three from each county for the former and nine for the latter. The bodies were organized on this basis, and the Friends' meeting-house set aside for their use.

First Pennsylvania Assembly

On meeting, a rule was adopted that "none speak but once before the question is put, nor after but once;" and that the Speaker could stop all personalities and superfluities—a Czar-like power we have not reached even yet. Under this rule a vast amount of legislation was performed within three days. An "act of settlement" was passed, and the frame of government,

with a few modifications, formally accepted. Then followed an "act of union," annexing the territory of Delaware to the province of Pennsylvania; all the Dutch and Swedes and other foreigners in that district were made naturalized British subjects.

1682–5

Delaware taken over

All the laws already epitomized, with nineteen others, were proposed to the Assembly and accepted; one of them was the usual and judicious forbidding of the sale of liquor to the Indians. The executive government went into immediate effect.

Pennsylvania government organized

Penn in December had paid a visit of state to Lord Baltimore, hoping to adjust the claim dispute amicably. The meeting took place at West River, the home of Colonel Tailler, and was most cordial; but Penn thought that Baltimore's ostentatious display had an ulterior object, and wrote to a friend in England that he "took the occasion, by his civilities, to show me the greatness of his power." Neither party, however, was willing to make any concessions on the subject-matter, and they parted without accomplishing anything. Indeed, the conflict was too radical to compromise: the 39° line would have taken the oyster from Baltimore, and left him the shell; and Penn would not give up the Swedish-Dutch colony he had already taken under his government. It was therefore referred to the King, who kept postponing it until death supervened. James II., on his accession in 1685, put an end to the controversy by dividing the disputed possessions, giving

Penn's futile visit to Lord Baltimore

1682–5

Penn the "lower counties," as they desired, but leaving Baltimore the Chesapeake and the heart of his lands.

Great early immigration to Pennsylvania

Meanwhile Penn's colony was increasing rapidly. Local industries were thriving: there were potteries, brick-kilns, hatters, hand-looms, horse-mills, windmills, floating water-mills in the streams. Labor was highly paid; and there was a permanent market among the Indians and in the West Indies for all the supplies the planters could raise. More than two thousand permanent settlers, mainly Quakers, came over during 1683; many were persons of consequence. During 1683-4, more than fifty ships landed emigrants from Ireland, Wales, Germany, and Holland, besides different parts of England, on the banks of the Delaware. There was a large emigration of persecuted German sectaries, and others who had found their refuge from persecution in Holland too tame and prospectless; these were attracted by Penn's pamphlets, and by knowledge resulting from his visit to those countries ten years before. They were people of noble mind and sterling qualities, still manifest in their descendants.

The famous Treaty

Meantime Penn had met a large delegation of Indian sachems and warriors, to ratify the treaty and land purchase arranged by his commissioners. This memorable meeting took place probably on the 23d of June, 1683, under the branches of a venerable elm, at a spot on the Delaware called Shackamaxon, meaning "place of kings." Nothing

remains to mark the site except the "Treaty Monument," erected by a later generation. The tree was ever afterward regarded with veneration by the Indians as well as by the Quakers; and it remained standing until some years after the Revolution. 1683

The Indians came fully armed. The Quakers came without weapons, Penn marching at their head, distinguished from the rest only by a blue-silk sash of network under his coat. The treaty, engrossed on parchment, he carried in a roll in his hand. The chief sachem, Tamanend, stepped out from his people and greeted the Quakers; and thereupon the warriors all threw down their arms as an indication that the place was sacred. Tamanend was dressed in his robes of state, and wore upon his head a chaplet of beads, above which projected a buffalo's horn as a symbol of authority. The Indians were gay with flowing plumes of bright feathers, shells, and fur belts, and their almost naked bodies painted in red, blue, and yellow. **Penn meets the Indian tribes**

Both parties seated themselves in a double half-circle facing one another, the chiefs and principal men occupying the centre. Tamanend deputed a sachem to address Penn. He assured the Quakers of the fidelity and love of the Indians, and declared that they would always remain true and faithful allies of their white brothers. This pledge was made in the name of the Delawares or Lenni Lenape, the Mingoes, and seventeen other great nations of the Susquehanna region. **Tamanend's address**

1683 Penn then arose and addressed the warriors through an interpreter. It was not the custom of his people, he said, to use hostile weapons against their fellow-creatures, and they had therefore come to the Council unarmed. The Great Spirit, who created all men, and beheld the thoughts of every human heart, knew with what sincerity he and his people desired to live in friendship and a perpetual commerce of good offices with the Indians. Their object was not to do injury, and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good; and in all transactions to consider the advantage of both people as inseparable, and to proceed with all openness, brotherhood, and love.

Penn's address to Indians

At the close of his speech, Penn exhibited his parchment; and after it had made the circle of the chiefs, he read it to them. They were particularly pleased with the arbitration clause. He then paid them in goods the agreed price, and requested them to accept as a friendly gift the additional articles of merchandise now spread before them: bright-colored clothes, blankets, beads, bells, trinkets, and other articles prized by the savages. The price paid for the lands was never recorded, and Penn himself nowhere states the amount; but there is no reason to suppose it differed greatly from that paid by other whites in similar transactions. The following year, in writing to his friends in England, he alleged that it was in excess of the real value. To this he added: "He will deserve the name of wise that outwits them in any treaty about a thing they understand."

Buys their land

Thinks them sharp bargainers

THE TREATY ELM IN 1791.

ANOTHER SKETCH OF THE TREATY ELM DURING ITS LIFETIME.

Both by permission of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

These transactions concluded, Penn invited the Indians to consider the lands he had purchased of them as common to the two races, and to use their resources freely. He would not compare their friendship to a chain, for the rain might rust it, or it might be broken by a falling tree; he should consider them as the same flesh and blood as Christians, or as two parts of the same body. In conclusion, he again presented the parchment to the sachems, and admonished them to preserve it carefully for three generations. The Indians cordially acceded to all these propositions, and solemnly pledged themselves to live in amity with William Penn and his children so long as the sun and the moon should endure. They faithfully kept their pledge. For nearly seventy years the peace was maintained; and during all this time Quakers continued to push their settlements into the very heart of the Indian country, going fearlessly among them without arms of any kind. It will be seen later, however, that much else besides good-will tied the Indians' hands.

The great treaty finished

Results

It was Penn's original intention to locate his capital on some spot near Upland, and he instructed his first company of emigrants to look for a suitable site thereabout. But when he went up the river in his barge, he was so favorably impressed with the location of the broad peninsula between the Schuylkill and Delaware that he decided at once to build his town there. The main portion of the tract belonged to three Swedes,

Site of Philadelphia selected

1682

who had bought the land from some Dutchmen; who presumably acquired it thus from the Indians; Penn bought it from the Swedes, but the price paid is not known. The area was a little more than one mile north and south by two east and west. The southern limit was at South Street, about three miles north of the river junction. Several small streams afforded a convenient and abundant water supply. The surface was generally level, thirty to three hundred feet above tide-water. The immediate front of the Delaware was a gravel bluff thirty to fifty feet high.

The Philadelphia peninsula

The Indian name of the peninsula was *Wicocoa;* but Penn called his foundation Philadelphia, "Brother-Love Place." The exact date when ground was first broken is not known; the first streets were laid out under Penn's supervision in the latter part of 1682. It is said that he derived the plan from a model of ancient Babylon, published as a frontispiece to Dean Prideaux's Bible history. The streets were laid out at right angles, exactly to the points of the compass. Many were named for the forest trees or other plant growth cut down to make way for them. Penn desired each house to be surrounded by a large garden, so that the whole might be "a green country town"; and this was done until crowding population made the space too valuable. The streets were first paved under Franklin's advice, in 1757.

The town laid out

Philadelphia grew rapidly. While the houses were building, the settlers lived in caves on the

river side, arched over with trees and sodded. Within less than a year, more than one hundred comfortable houses occupied the site, including a few already there when Penn fixed upon it. One of the latter, owned by Colonel Edward Hill of Virginia, stood near the confluence of Dock Creek with the Delaware, where Penn landed and where a wharf was built; on laying out the streets, it came in the middle of Front Street, whereupon the house was moved back to the street line, a lot just wide enough to afford access to it and extending back to the swamp on Dock Creek (16x36) was given to Hill, and it was transformed into the long-famous Blue Anchor Tavern. In 1684 Hill transferred it to one Griffith Jones. It was not palatial: "about twelve feet front on Front Street, and about twenty-two feet on Dock Street, having a ceiling of about eight and a half feet in height." Just beyond was a row of ten houses known as "Budd's Long Row." These and many others were built in the old English fashion, of wooden frames filled in with bricks burnt on the ground. Some of them stood for more than a century, and a large part of the bricks are "alive at this day," like those of Cade's father, built in the walls of some of the oldest structures of Philadelphia.

1682–4

Blue Anchor Tavern

Early Philadelphia buildings

By the end of 1684 more than six hundred substantial houses had been erected, occupied by upward of twenty-five hundred people. At the riverside was a solid quay, where vessels of five hundred tons unloaded two or three times a month. Out into the country, fifty townships had

Rapid growth

1683 been surveyed and settled, and numerous thriving villages and plantations established. All this marvelous growth Penn witnessed in person. It is notable that no court-house was built till 1707: the Quakers were not litigious.

The second session of the legislature was held at Philadelphia, in March 1683. Its numbers had been reduced by the proprietary: the Council henceforth was to consist of eighteen persons, three from each county, and the Assembly of thirty-six, six from each county. As the governor retained his three votes, it doubled his proportional power; and he was given a veto in addition, which largely nullified the democratic character of the constitution. Ten votes in the Council, of which the governor had three, controlled the government, and he could block it singly whenever he could not secure the other seven. From this tightening of the reins, we may suspect some turbulence in the Assembly.[1] The latter tried to secure the privilege of initiating laws, but was refused. A system of magistrates and constables was established; but to prevent litigation, three "peacemakers" were appointed in each county, to whom disputes must first be referred before an appeal could be taken to the courts. Beyond question, the system must have lightened the court business very much. A court

Democratic features still further reduced

Anti-litigation system

[1] A dozen years later Penn took the executive power away from the Council altogether. Like Roger Williams, he found that pure democracy, with the material then available, was a difficult machine to work except under special conditions.

was established for the protection and relief of widows, and was required to meet in each county twice a year. 1683

The legislature undertook to pass some social and sumptuary laws, as for instance that all young men should be compelled to marry by a certain age, and that no one should have more than two suits of clothes, one for summer and one for winter; but both were defeated. An important measure, which was carried, provided that the eldest son should inherit only a double portion of his father's lands—a midway provision between the English entail and the New England equal inheritance. In accordance with the charter, it was voted to pay the proprietary an impost on all imports and exports: Penn generously declined the offer. "I desire," said he, "to show men as free and happy as they can be." He also at this session secured the passage of an act authorizing every inhabitant to hunt in all uninclosed lands and fish in all waters. If aliens died before being naturalized, their lands should descend to their children as with citizens—a great encouragement to immigrants.

Laws of second legislature

His efforts to improve both the moral and material condition of the Indians were unwearied; and he strove to understand them for this purpose. His descriptions of them are just and graphic; and his legislation against selling them liquor was as much to prevent their injury by intemperance, and by deception when drunk, as to protect the whites.

Penn's work for the Indians

1684 Matters in Europe now required his personal attention. A fresh persecution of the Quakers had broken out in England; a sincere personal attachment existed between Penn and the Duke of York, and he felt that he could serve his people best near the throne in England. Moreover, he had faithful lieutenants, and had established a republic able with their help to guide its own destiny. His absence, however, proved a calamity to the colony as well as himself. More than fifteen years elapsed before Penn was able to return; and in England he encountered an opposition so powerful that at one time it threatened to deprive him of all his American interests. Meanwhile his infant colony grew to immense proportions, and experienced radical changes in many of its leading features.

Penn forced to return home

Before sailing, he transferred the executive powers to Nicholas More or Moore and four Quaker planters, whom he constituted supreme judges. His proprietary interests he intrusted to the Council; appointing his Quaker friend Thomas Lloyd president, and his kinsman William Markham secretary. Markham had been in England a year as Penn's representative in the controversy with Lord Baltimore; but he returned to America at this appointment.

Ad interim provisions

Penn took his departure in August 1684. On the eve of his sailing, and after he had gone on board the ship, he addressed to Lloyd, and others of his more intimate friends, an affecting valedictory letter, with a request that it be communicated

to all the colonists in Pennsylvania and Delaware. "Dear friends," he said, "my love and my life is to you and with you; and no water can quench it, nor distance wear it out, or bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared for you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me, and dear to me beyond utterance. I bless you in the name and power of the Lord; and may God bless you with his righteousness, peace, and plenty, all the land over. Oh, that you would eye him in all, through all, and above all the works of your hands." He admonished those to whom he had committed the government to regard it as a sacred function and heavenly trust; apostrophized his beloved city in the tenderest terms; and in conclusion exclaimed, "So says, so prays, your friend and lover in truth, William Penn."

Penn's farewell letter

Pennsylvania contained at that time a white population of more than six thousand, nearly half of whom lived in Philadelphia. When Penn returned, fifteen years afterward, the population of the province had increased more than fourfold, while Philadelphia had grown into a thriving city of ten thousand inhabitants.

Pennsylvania in 1684

The colony had had no instance of religious persecution; and but one legal action inspired by superstition ever occurred within the province. In 1684, shortly before Penn's return to England, a turbulent Swedish woman was arrested on the charge of being a witch, and brought to Philadelphia for trial. A jury, half Swedes and half Quakers, was selected to try her, and Penn

Solitary witchcraft trial

presided. The witnesses were examined, and the proprietary delivered his charge to the jury; whereupon it returned a verdict to this effect: "The prisoner is guilty of the common fame of being a witch; but not guilty as she stands indicted." And thus did witchcraft disappear from the domains of William Penn. That his influence and spirit are to be credited with this, there can be little doubt. The headship of Theophilus Eaton in the theocratic Puritan colony of New Haven had produced essentially the same results a generation before: the alleged witches went unharmed. One cool superior man was less likely to be carried away by panic superstition than the mass.

Witch acquitted

In October 1683 a Quaker named Enoch Flower established in Philadelphia a school for girls and boys, in a house of cedar and pine, one of the most commodious yet erected. This was the beginning of public education in Pennsylvania. Brother Flower's curriculum embraced none of the branches above reading and writing; but an influential teacher can put much into his scholars besides the curriculum. His terms were: "To learn to read, four shillings [say $3 now] a quarter; to write, six shillings, boarding scholars, to-wit: Diet, lodging, washing, and schooling, ten pounds the whole year."

First Philadelphia school

A printing-press was set up in Philadelphia the year after Penn's departure; the first south of New England, and the third in the colonies. The proprietor was William Bradford, a Quaker

printer of Leicester, England, who had come over with Penn the previous year. In 1690 Bradford, in conjunction with two partners, built a paper-mill on the Schuylkill. The following year he was arrested on the charge of seditious libel, for publishing the polemic tracts of William Keith (who will be noticed later). The jury disagreed; but Bradford's press and his printing materials and publications were confiscated. Disgusted with his treatment, he left there and settled in New York. When the excitement had abated, Bradford's press was restored; and he continued to operate it in Philadelphia, under the management of a Dutch printer named Jansen, until his son Andrew Sowles Bradford became old enough to take charge of the business in 1712.

William Bradford

The first books published in Philadelphia were written by James Claypoole, and printed by Bradford in 1683. There were several of these in advocacy of the tenets of the Quaker faith. He was devoutly attached to Penn, whom he had accompanied to America; and was one of the friends to whom Penn addressed his farewell letter. He was a man of some distinction, and held several important offices and positions of trust under the Quaker government. His brother, Sir John Claypoole, married Elizabeth, Cromwell's favorite daughter.

James Claypoole

Penn's principal object, as we have said, was to intercede for his oppressed brethren. Since the accession of Charles II. fifteen thousand dissenting families had been ruined, and over five

thousand victims had died in English prisons.
1684–8 The Quakers were included in both these classes. Penn accomplished but little during the short remainder of the life of Charles, who died February 6, 1685; but the accession of James II. brought a sudden change. James' one set purpose was to restore the Catholics to power, the first step toward that was to remove their legal disabilities, and the one road to *that* was to relieve all sects impartially. This would not only give him the vantage-ground of being an apostle of justice and tolerance, but, as he believed, would bind all the immense dissenting interests to his side. To favor his old friend Penn exactly fell in with his political purpose, and through Penn's intercession more than twelve hundred Quakers were released from their prisons. Penn also secured pardon for his banished friend John Locke, which the philosopher, conscious of innocence, refused to accept as a grace. Following close upon the release of the Quakers came the Declaration of Indulgence, granting liberty of conscience to all English subjects. To James' fathomless surprise and disgust, the mass of Dissenters refused to accept, even to their own benefit, a dispensation overriding the authority of Parliament by that of the King; believing that the same lawless authority could and would later, if successful, impose a worse slavery on the whole nation.

James' pro-Catholic policy

Quakers its beneficiaries

Its failure

Penn remained a favorite courtier of the King, and was publicly accused of being a Jesuit

therefor; but he used his influence always for purposes of justice and mercy, so far as the hard cold nature of James would allow. He was in fact far more useful to the cause of righteousness and humanity at court than he could have been in opposition. When James' attempt to achieve the impossible was making men look to the heirship of his daughter and William of Orange, Penn thought to secure from the latter the practical results of toleration which the Quakers had gained from James. He accordingly visited him in Holland; but his overtures met with no friendly response. William was a high-churchman, and Penn's intimacy with James was no recommendation. Penn returned with the belief that the only hope of continued toleration was the continued reign of James, and clung to him more outspokenly than ever.

1687–8

Penn's cause linked to James'

But the revolution came. William landed at Torbay on the 5th of November, 1688, with fifteen thousand soldiers, but a far stronger support in the fact that the English would not fight for James and were determined to be rid of him. Strange mutations of history! The flight of James Stuart the bigoted Catholic, the advent of William of Orange the equally bigoted Churchman, were the undoing of William Penn the tolerant Quaker. He was summoned before the Council to answer the charge of treason. The only evidence against him was his friendship for James, but this was enough to cause two arrests at later times, each of which resulted in a triumphant

And nearly wrecked with it

1689-99

acquittal. In 1692, however, William went to the extreme of depriving him of his government and rights, and directing Governor Fletcher of New York to assume the administration of Pennsylvania. But Penn had friends too powerful and influential to be brushed aside. Among them were John Locke, Tillotson the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Buckingham. After a full hearing before the Council, in November 1693, Penn was honorably acquitted. His government was restored to him in 1694; but he did not return to America until five years afterward.

Penn's long disfavor with William III.

These fifteen years of Penn's absence in Europe were in many respects years of turbulence and discord in the colony; but at the same time of solid gain and rapid growth in substance and population.

In 1685 it was determined, at the annual meeting of the Quaker Society at Burlington, New Jersey, to make an effort to convert the Indians to the Quaker belief. The red men received the invitation to consider this subject with their usual stately politeness. They met the Quaker missionaries, and listened solemnly to their religious "talk," which they pronounced very wise, very weighty, and very true; and presumably never thereafter gave the subject another thought.

Quakers try to convert Indians

No systematic effort was made by the other sects to convert the Pennsylvania tribes until near the middle of the eighteenth century, when David Brainerd, a Presbyterian divine, preached

to them with some degree of success. His principal efforts, however, were put forth among the tribes of Delaware and New Jersey, where he succeeded in converting about one hundred of the natives, less than one-half of whom were adults. Brainerd was followed by the Moravians, who established a number of missions in the territory occupied by the Quakers, and beyond its limits in the wilderness that now constitutes the State of Ohio. In some essential features the faith of the Moravians and the Quakers was similar, but the two sects did not harmonize. The Quakers opposed the efforts of the Moravians among the Indians, on the ground that it was not wise to excite them on the subject of religion; and for this reason their efforts in Pennsylvania were not so fruitful as they were in other localities.

Sectarian missions to Indians

The immigration into Pennsylvania continued in constantly increasing numbers. The older settlements and towns grew rapidly, while prosperous new communities took root and flourished. A large proportion of the immigrants continued to be Quakers, but all denominations and men of no denomination were represented. Quite naturally the Quakers demanded a controlling voice in their own colony; other denominations—particularly the Episcopalians—were equally earnest in pressing their claims. Nicholas More the chief justice, and Robinson the clerk of the provincial court, rendered themselves especially obnoxious to the Quakers. More was impeached

Quaker control opposed

1664–8

by the Assembly of high crimes and misdemeanors; and on refusing to answer the charges, was suspended by the Council. The accusations are not preserved; Penn thought them trivial, for he wrote to the authors to "restrain their tempers," and "value themselves a little less and honor other men a little more." "For the love of God, me, and the poor country," he exclaimed in one of his letters, "be not so governmentish, so noisy and open in your dissatisfaction. Some folks love hunting in government itself." In reply, the Assembly professed the highest reverence for Penn, and begged that he would return quickly and live among them, but that they thought fit "to humble that corrupt and aspiring minister of state, Nicholas More."

Chief-justice More impeached by Quakers

Penn seems to have regarded More as a victim of intolerance on the part of his own people. Later, in 1686, when the proprietary decided to withdraw the executive power from the Council, he appointed More, in conjunction with Lloyd and three other Quakers, as a commission under the title of "commissioners of state," to whom he assigned extensive powers. He instructed them to abrogate all acts passed in his absence; to repress every tendency to disorder and collision of power among the departments of government; and to act with vigor in suppressing vice, without respect to persons or persuasions. "Let no foolish pity," he said, "rob justice of its due, and the people of proper examples;" which was sense and has a Puritan ring. He also recommended to

But made chief of governing board by Penn

them a diligent attention to the proprietary's interests, with a watchful care to the preservation of their own dignity. 1685–6

Penn found no rest from disturbance and vexation over the state of affairs in his province. He was especially disturbed on account of the increasing consumption of liquors, among both whites and Indians. His quit-rents were in arrears, and he was rapidly exhausting his private fortune. Two years after his return to England, he wrote a letter to his people complaining bitterly of their neglect and ingratitude in this respect. He protested that the Council had neglected and slighted his communications; that the labor he had consecrated to his people's good was neither valued nor understood by them; and that from their proceedings in other respects he might more than once have annulled the charter had he chosen. This was some time before the appointment of the commissioners of state.

Penn reproaches his colony

The people were constantly urging him to come back and resume the government; but he replied that his affairs were so embarrassed by their default that he was unable to leave England. His quit-rents, he declared, amounted in 1685 to not less than £500 a year, some $7,500 now; but he could not obtain payment of a single penny. "God is my witness," he exclaimed, "I lie not. I am above six thousand pounds [say $100,000] out of pocket more than I ever saw by the province." This was a large fortune for that period; and in addition to his other troubles, the weight of

Quit-rents unpaid

intolerable debt began to press upon and worry him.

[1686–8

The good results he anticipated from the appointment of the commissioners of state were not fully realized. The quit-rents were still unpaid; and in spite of Penn's repeated protests, the commissioners began to neglect their duties. They did not reply to his letters, and his interests suffered. "I believe I may say," he wrote, "I am one of the unhappiest proprietaries with one of the best people."

Penn's commissioners neglectful

At length Lloyd and some of the other Quaker commissioners asked to be relieved of their duties; and Penn decided to institute a new reform, by appointing a single deputy-governor with full executive powers. He selected in 1688 Captain John Blackwell, one of Cromwell's officers,—who had married a daughter of the famous general John Lambert, and was at the time residing in England,—and turned over the management of his entire American interests to him. Blackwell seems to have been faithful, but he lacked judgment and discretion. "Rule the meek meekly," said Penn in his instructions, "and those that will not be ruled, rule with authority."

Replaced by Blackwell

But Blackwell's experience under Cromwell had given him respect only for stern discipline, and he attempted to apply the rules of the Ironsides in the government of the Quaker colony. No man ever made a greater mistake; for with all their meekness, the Quakers were as firm as the Puritans in resisting whatever they conceived to

Who plays martinet

be wrong. Blackwell resorted to force and intrigue. This only made matters worse. Rebellion began to manifest itself, in the form of a stubborn, non-resisting refusal to obey orders, which of all rebellions is the most difficult to subdue. Blackwell caused the arrest of an assemblyman named White, who had made himself obnoxious to Penn by urging the impeachment of More. White was thrown into prison, and by trickery denied a *habeas corpus*. Other members were subjected to gross indignities, until the entire Assembly was heated to the boiling point. Blackwell deferred opening the Assembly long after the appointed time; and when he deigned to convene it, addressed it in a haughty and insolent harangue.

1688–9

Governor Blackwell's dragoon policy

He now attempted, according to instructions, to force the abrogation of all laws enacted during Penn's absence; but the only notice the Assembly took of it was to remonstrate against his arbitrary proceedings. He then persuaded some of the members to absent themselves so as to break the quorum; the remaining members unanimously passed a resolution denouncing this secession as a treacherous betrayal of the public interest. Massachusetts itself had nothing to teach the Quakers in this line of action. The Assembly declared, in a series of resolutions, that not even the proprietary had any right to abrogate laws enacted in accordance with the charter.

Firmly resisted

After a long and ineffectual struggle, Blackwell acknowledged himself beaten, and left the

1689

colony in disgust, turning the government over to the Council. Thomas Lloyd, the Quaker, thereupon resumed the presidency of that body, and matters once more fell back into the old forms. Penn apologized to the colonists for the Blackwell troubles. He had acted for the best, he declared, and had only selected that gentleman because no Quaker would accept the office. But he qualified his apology by adding, "I must say, I fear his peevishness to some Friends has not risen out of the dust without occasion."

Blackwell beaten and retires

In 1689, a year of great fertility, large companies of new settlers passed up the Delaware to the new land of promise. Among other newcomers was George Keith, who had been stripped of his property and driven out of England for preaching Quaker doctrines. His people of his faith extended to him the warm hand of welcome; but he proved to be one of those erratic reformers not well grounded in any of their views, and caused more trouble among the Quakers of Pennsylvania than any other man who ever came into their midst. At the beginning he proved to be a valuable acquisition to the community; for he established "The Friends' Public School of Philadelphia," and placed it on a firm foundation.

George Keith's arrival

Penn resented his ungracious treatment by William and Mary, and neglected to have their sovereignty proclaimed in Pennsylvania. It was an indiscreet act, which no doubt embittered his persecution in England. Like many thousands of other Englishmen, he felt that the reinstatement

Penn's impolicy

of James was quite on the cards, and he sustained a correspondence with the ex-monarch some years. 1688–91
In a letter to his friends in Pennsylvania, written in 1689, he says, "Great revolutions have been of late in this land of your nativity, and where they may period the Lord knows."

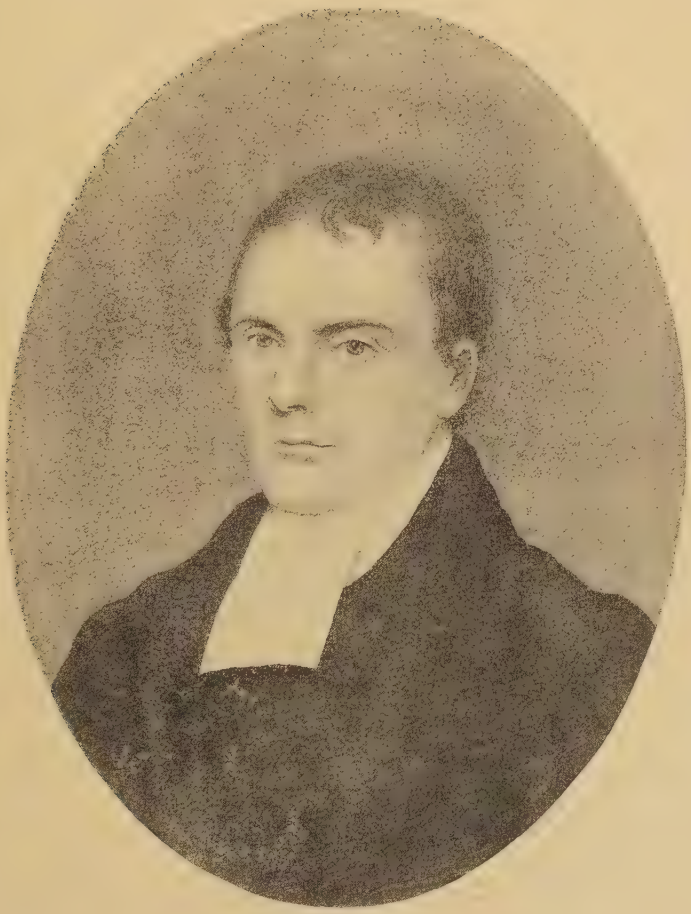
In 1691 serious dissensions, racial and religious, arose between the Swede-Dutch inhabitants of Delaware and the Quakers of Pennsylvania. The first through their representatives complained that they were not fairly treated in the distribution of offices and public favors. At length the Delaware members met without official summons in the Council chamber, and proceeded without authority to remove certain officers and appoint others in their stead. Their action was declared illegal by the regular Council; but before Penn could be informed of the situation, the rupture had become too great to be mended. Hoping to restore the old relations of friendship, Penn now requested the people to select their own form of government. The Pennsylvanians declared in favor of a deputy-governor, and Lloyd was selected; the Delaware councillors objected and declared in favor of a board of commissioners, and their action was approved by their people. William Markham now came into prominence again. He believed that his kinsman's interests would be served by a division of the province; under his leadership, the Delaware people demanded a separate executive, and refused all of Lloyd's overtures. Penn accused their leaders of

The Delaware revolt

selfish and ambitious designs; but for peace' sake,
1691-9 granted their request for a separate executive, and appointed Markham deputy-governor. The
Delaware gains separate legislature Council and Assembly remained common to the two provinces. The singular spectacle of a dual executive and a united legislature for two independent provinces was now seen for the first time —a device with a monarchical look; but it satisfied the people for the moment.

Markham held his office until 1693, when William III. deprived Penn of his American rights, and placed Governor Fletcher of New York in charge of the two provinces. Markham was
Dual executives appointed deputy-governor under Fletcher, and in his absence performed the executive functions. The following year Penn's rights were restored; whereupon he appointed Markham lieutenant-governor of both provinces, a position which he filled until the proprietary's return to Pennsylvania at the close of 1699.

The Assembly of September 1695 assumed that the old constitution had been abrogated; and in imitation of what had already taken place in Dela-
Pennsylvania takes reins in its own hand ware, it enacted fundamental laws on a broad democratic basis. The legislature of 1696 went a step further, and framed a constitution that made the people the source of all honor and power, and reduced the governor to a mere presiding officer in the Council. When the legislature met in 1697, Markham addressed the members in these words: "You are met, not by virtue of any writ of mine, but of a law made by yourselves."



GEORGE KEITH.

(By permission of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.)

1664–90

Quaker split

The year 1692 was marked throughout Penn's Quaker settlements by violent dissensions among that brotherhood. They were rent into hostile factions, and indulged in personal vituperation which threatened the dissolution of the society. Penn's hand was needed to quiet the raging factions; but he was just passing through the crucial stage of his controversy with William III., and was in no position to exert his influence.

Keith's early career

George Keith, the Quaker preacher, was the disturbing element. He was a Scotchman of brilliant parts and a truly Scotch genius for controversy; educated for the ministry in the Scotch Presbyterian church, in 1664 he was converted to the Quaker faith, which he espoused with such warmth that the authorities threw him into prison and confiscated his property. The contest raged in Scotland for twenty years, a large portion of which was spent by Keith in jail; in 1684 he abandoned the unequal struggle and came to America, his heart filled with hatred for everything in the nature of ecclesiastical authority. He was at first a surveyor in New Jersey, assisting to run the line between its eastern and western sections; but in 1689 he came to Philadelphia as before stated. The occupation of schoolmaster, however, proved too tame for his contentious disposition; and remembering his people's wrongs at the hands of the New England Puritans, he soon quitted Philadelphia and betook himself to that theological battleground. Here he found foemen worthy of his steel, in the distinguished persons of John

Goes to New England

1690–3

Keith in New England

Cotton and Increase Mather. For a time Keith sustained himself admirably, and won the hearty applause of his brethren in all parts of the country. So long as his shafts were directed against the common enemy, his cutting wit and bitter satire were vastly appreciated by his admiring sectaries, and he soon made himself the most famous man in America as a defender of Quaker principles. His name was on every tongue, and his fame rivaled even that of William Penn.

Keith at length wearied of the controversy and returned to Philadelphia, where he once more assumed charge of the Quaker school. But his innate love of conflict soon launched him into fresh troubles. He began by complaining that the Pennsylvania Quakers were too lax in their discipline, and that false doctrines were taught by many of the preachers. These strictures were at first received with becoming meekness; but Keith soon went beyond the limit of patient endurance. He became personal in his attacks, and declared that no true Quaker, whose heart was filled with brotherly love, could be concerned in the "compelling part of government," since it required the assertion of power and the exercise of force. This shaft struck home to some of the most prominent Quakers in the province, like Lloyd and others, who had taken an active interest in the government from the beginning. Keith intended precisely the effect that he had produced.

Lashes Pennsylvania Quakers

At length he turned his guns against the prevalent system of slavery, which he denounced

as an outrage against humanity and inconsistent with the Christian character. Slavery was at that time a universal institution. Penn himself owned negro slaves, though he did not approve the system; so did nearly every prominent Quaker in the province. Indeed, where the system prevails at all, upper-class life is impossible without it, for free service cannot be obtained: the entire community is compelled to share in it. Keith attacked the institution with all the vehemence of his combative nature: no Quaker could love his fellowmen and at the same time retain a number of them in hopeless slavery. Keith's polemics soon split the society into two warring factions. The Delaware Dutchmen, who were conscientiously opposed to slavery, took sides with Keith and his adherents, and were joined by most of their Swedish neighbors. The controversy thus took on a racial character, divided on territorial lines, and threatened the disruption of the provinces.

Keith assails slavery

Disrupts the Quakers

Keith separated his adherents as "Christian Quakers," all others being renegades and apostates. But his opponents were in the majority; all the conservative elements were against him, and united in publishing a testimonial denouncing him. In this curious production they expressed deep regret for the "tedious exercise and vexatious perplexity" which Keith had brought upon them. They accused him of uttering against themselves "such unsavory words and abusive language, as a person of common civility would loath"; and in particular with having assured them on various

Vituperated in turn

occasions, "and upon small provocations, if any, that they are fools, ignorant heathens, silly souls, rotten ranters, and Muggletonians, with other names of that infamous strain, thereby to our grief, foaming out his own shame." They accused him of asserting that a more diabolical doctrine passed current among Quakers than any other Protestant denomination—which indicates that Keith was intending to withdraw from the society, as he did shortly after. As a climax, they asserted that when they had "tenderly dealt" with him for his abusive language and disorderly behavior, he had insultingly answered "that he trampled their good judgment under his feet as dirt"; and had since set up a separate organization, whose proceedings had rendered the religious reputation of the bulk of the Quakers "a scorn to the profane, and the song of the drunkard."

Keith's opponents recriminate

Keith's answer was worthy of his metal, and stirred the Quaker settlement to its foundations. He particularized the insinuated acts of apostasy, and drew a ludicrous contrast between the sectarian principles and the magisterial conduct of the prominent Quakers in the "compelling part of the government." His opponents were convinced that what they had taken for a mere ecclesiastical dispute should be resented as a political outrage. It had a tendency to "lessen the lawful authority of the magistracy in view of the baser sort of people"; which was true, but when much more direct attacks on the magistrates' authority by Quakers were repressed by the Puritans, the

His retort

Considered a breach of law

latter were (and are) denounced as religious persecutors. It was now the Quaker ox that was gored. The printer Bradford, who had published Keith's effusions, was thrown into prison; we have told of his later career. Keith was brought to trial with another Quaker named Francis Budd; they had jointly issued a publication criticising a Quaker magistrate, and were fined £5 each, though the fine was not exacted.

1692–1716

Keith punished for libel

Keith soon afterward returned to England, where he published his side of the controversy, and gave an account of the trial and its results under the title of "New England Spirit of Persecution Transmitted to Pennsylvania, and the Pretended Quaker found Persecuting the True Quaker." A copy fell into Penn's hands, and he wrote to a friend in America that the report of the trial had excited much disgust in England, discrediting the fitness of Quakers to administer authority. This generation need not take sides; but it is useful to bear in mind when we judge the cases of Roger Williams and others *versus* the Puritans.

Bad effect of his trial

A few years afterward Keith announced himself a convert to the Church of England, where he bent his chief energies to the conversion of Quakers. He subsequently returned to America as a missionary to the Indians of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and is said to have been highly successful. Keith is considered the most learned member of the eighteenth-century Friends, having been well versed in philosophy, mathematics, and

Later life

the Oriental tongues; he was highly esteemed by
1692–4 Penn, who remained his firm friend until his last conversion. He died in 1716.

The controversy bore evil fruit for Pennsylvania, aside from the dissensions it provoked among the Quakers. It afforded the King a pretext for depriving Penn of the government, on the ground that such disorders were not consistent with the dignity of the British Crown. But the Pennsylvanians faced Fletcher boldly. They declared that "the laws of their province, which were in force and practice before the arrival of this present governor, are still in force." Fletcher replied hotly, "If the laws made by virtue of Mr. Penn's charter be of force to you, and can be brought into competition with the great seal which commands me hither, I have no business here." It must be remembered that a large proportion of their laws had never been submitted for royal inspection according to the charter.

Fletcher replaces Penn government

John Crowden, the Speaker, reminded Colonel Fletcher that King Charles' charter was itself under the great seal, and asked whether it had been legally annulled. Fletcher thereupon proposed re-enacting most of the former laws; but the Pennsylvanians were not to be caught in such a trap, and replied that this would concede all the rest void. In the end the Assembly maintained its independence, and even gained the privilege of initiating laws, which Penn had never given it and which it never surrendered. The members then passed a resolution acknowledging that their

Beaten in contest with Assembly

liberty of conscience was due to the grace of the King.

1693–5

In 1693 Fletcher applied to the Assembly for a contribution to aid in defraying the expenses of the war against the French and Indians of Canada. He was aware, he declared, that their religious principles forbade the carrying of arms even in self-defense, as well as the levying of money for warlike purposes; but they inculcated the duty of feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, and there were plenty of both among the Indian allies of New York. The Quakers had equally good reasoning where principles and pockets were at one. They were not unwilling to contribute to the needs of the suffering Indians, but must retain the privilege of directing how their alms should be distributed. This was rejected as an infringement of the prerogative; and Fletcher received no "charitable" contributions for war purposes.

Fletcher asks Quakers for war stores

At first denied

Two years later, however, after Penn's restoration, the Assembly appropriated money to be remitted to the governor of New York (Fletcher), "for the relief of the distressed Indians on the frontiers of his province." Some time after the receipt of this, Fletcher wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Markham that the money had been faithfully applied to its intended purposes, and requested another contribution for the same purpose. The Assembly thanked Governor Fletcher "for his regard and candor to them," but declared that for the present they must refrain from

Then granted

imposing further burdens on the province, though they would be glad to observe the King's further demands "according to their religious persuasion and abilities." This formula was regularly used in future, though they never refused what they thought reasonable demands for war contributions. Their holding back in the Braddock campaign, largely responsible for that horrible disaster, was due to a political quarrel unfortunately allowed to paralyze needed action for the general good.

Quakers grant war contributions

We wrong them, however, in speaking of "The Quakers" as a unit in feeling or action. The truth is that, as must be the case with rational men in the midst of human relations with their race, a large section had the current ideas of social duty; and without breaking with their religious fellowship, found means of reconciling both. An entertaining and creditable example was on occasion of the expected war with France in 1746, when the colonists were requested to form and equip an army to co-operate with the English, and did so, though the English force never came. The Quakers of Pennsylvania would not bear arms, but some of them agreed to drive ammunition carts, and others sent flannel waistcoats to keep the soldiers warm and thus enable them to fight better! The Quaker members of the Pennsylvania Assembly also voted money "for the King's use," knowing that it was to be employed in the defense of the colonies; and when it came to voting supplies for the army, they appropriated £3000 for the purchase of bread, flour, wheat, and *other*

Adjust tenets to social needs

grains. When questioned as to the meaning of the latter expression, they replied that it meant *grains of gunpowder;* and a large part of the appropriation was accordingly invested in that explosive cereal. It was in this way, according to Franklin, that the peaceful Quakers "whipped the devil around the stump" in supplying sinews of war.

Quakers find means for patriotism

Franklin was then clerk of the Assembly, which was composed largely of Quakers. A fire company had been organized, and he secured the passage of a bill authorizing a lottery for the purpose of buying a "fire-engine." Being in doubt as to whether they could raise the required amount, Franklin suggested to one of the influential members that he have himself and Franklin appointed as a committee to make the purchase; and then if they did not get enough money to buy a fire-engine, they would purchase a great gun, "which," said the placid philosopher, "is certainly a fire-engine"! He does not inform us whether this particular "fire-engine" was procured or not; but he does say that the Philadelphia company bought a number of old cannon from Boston, and the inference is plain that one of these ancient weapons was covered in the accounts as a fire-engine. In any event, Franklin's conscience never pained him on account of the proposed deception.

Franklin's ingenious device

The action of the body in the Pontiac conspiracy was a very sore subject then, and is not free from acrimonious judgment even yet. When the western Pennsylvania frontiers were desolated

Quaker action in Pontiac conspiracy

with unspeakable Indian horrors, the Quakers (nearly all in the eastern section) denied or excused them, threw all the blame on the whites, refused to contribute to the defense of the settlements, and were bitter with wrath when a wagon-load of scalped and mutilated victims was paraded through the streets of Philadelphia, to shame them into sharing the burdens of a defensive war of which they reaped an equal benefit. This was a far worse exigency than the French war, but ran athwart their hereditary tenet, of believing no wrong of the natives. They were, however, unjustly charged with selfishly throwing their own defense on others under the screen of religious belief. At last a band known as the Paxton Boys, whose sole function was to massacre peaceful Indians, and who had been proclaimed outlaws for it, camped at Germantown and it was feared would capture and revolutionize Philadelphia; and there was actual doubt whether the anti-war doctrine would extend thus far. It did not: the Quakers after some hesitation held this an exceptional case, as it would put the sect under the feet of its enemies; manned the walls, and maintained their own municipal self-government.

Defend their city

Split in Revolution

Finally, at the outbreak of the Revolution, where mere supplies were not enough and personal services must be had, the Quaker body split entirely in two on this issue: one party adhered strictly to non-resistance; the other alleged the rightfulness of defensive war, separated as "Free Quakers," and sent a considerable contingent of

WILLIAM PENN AT FIFTY-TWO.

heroic fighters to the Continental armies. Indeed, the "fighting Quaker," who meekly smites his hectoring enemy hip and thigh, has been a favorite figure in American literature ever since. 1695–9

Let us retrace our steps nearer the beginnings. Population and wealth steadily increased. In 1695 the inhabitants were estimated at more than 20,000. Thousands who had landed in Pennsylvania with nothing, had established broad plantations and comfortable homes, and even become rich; there were some hundreds who counted their possessions by the hundred thousands. Even the lower ranks were comfortable: wages were high, and money circulated freely. Pennsylvania's growth in thirteen years

In the latter part of 1699, having partially overcome his difficulties, Penn for the second time set sail for America, accompanied by his second wife Hannah Callowhill, and his family, with the purpose of making his permanent home in Pennsylvania. Penn's second visit

On landing at Philadelphia, the proprietary was pained to learn that it had recently been visited by an epidemic of yellow fever, which had carried off several hundred people; indeed, it had not entirely abated then, although it was nearly midwinter. But even so he was full of delight. Before leaving England he had referred to the journey as to "the American desert." His astonishment on beholding the transformation was unbounded. "I have found a noble and beautiful city," he wrote to friends in London, "of above two thousand houses, and most of them stately Wonderful transformation scene

1699–1700

and of Brick, generally three stories high, after the Mode in London." "Curious wharfs" also lined the banks of the river, such as "Chestnut Street Wharf, Mulberry Street Wharf, Vine Street Wharf," and others of less distinction. He noticed particularly that goods were carted from one of the wharves into the city "under an Arch over which part of the street is built," whence Arch Street. He mentions also Walnut, Vine, Mulberry, Chestnut, and Sassafras Streets.

Philadelphia at age of seventeen

Penn chose for his residence a three-story house on Second Street, at the corner of Norris's Alley, which was known as the "slate-roof house." It was built in the old English style, and remained standing until 1868, being then demolished to make room for a new structure. In this house was born his son John, on February 29, 1700. He was the only one of Penn's children born in this country, so that he was familiarly known as "the American." He was likewise the only one of Penn's descendants who remained a Quaker.

Penn's house there

Soon after the birth of his son, Penn removed to his country seat, "Pennsbury Manor," on the Delaware, about twenty miles above Philadelphia, and near the present Bristol. Here, soon after his first arrival, he had built a spacious mansion, in the midst of a domain of nearly six thousand acres of land. Penn lived here during the two years of his second sojourn, surrounded by his family and dispensing a hospitality suited to his station. Presiding over a magnificent mansion was Hannah Penn, "a delicate, pretty woman, sitting beside

Pennsbury Manor

HANNAH CALLOWHILL, SECOND WIFE OF WILLIAM PENN.

the cradle of her infant," as she was described by one of the visitors to the Pennsylvania manor. The Indian sachems who came frequently to enjoy the governor's hospitality, insisted that he should in like manner visit them; and it was therefore his custom to go frequently to their villages and make himself at home in their midst.

1694–1700

Penn's manorial life

In 1694 an event had occurred which led to the beginning of active opposition to slavery in America. A company of German immigrants settled near Philadelphia, at a place thence known as Germantown. They opposed slavery not only on religious grounds, but as an outrage against individual rights. They pressed their views so earnestly on their Quaker neighbors that the latter, at their annual meeting of 1698, adopted a resolution declaring that slavery was inconsistent with the purity of the Quaker religion; but the members declined to pass judgment on the "unlawfulness of buying and keeping negroes." It is believed that this was the first anti-slavery resolution publicly acted upon in America; and mild and noncommittal as it was, it proved to be the starting-point for momentous events in the future.

First anti-slavery declaration

Thus the matter rested until Penn's return; when, both in the yearly meeting of 1700 and the Assembly of the same year, he took a bold and unequivocal stand against the unrighteous system. He caused two bills to be introduced into the Assembly, for regulating the morals and marriages of negroes, and for regulating their trials and punishments. At the same time he introduced a

Penn opposes slavery

bill to prevent abuses and frauds upon the Indians. Greatly to his chagrin, the Assembly negatived the first and third. But its action served to emphasize the subject and intensify the public interest. Monthly meetings were instituted by the Quakers for the moral education and religious uplifting of the negroes; and regular conferences were arranged with the Indians for information and religious instruction. Thus the Quaker anti-slavery movement was set in motion, and it never rested till its consummation. Steadily their yearly meetings proclaimed the doctrines of freedom, and "bore testimony" to the responsibility of the slaveholding members for the moral state of those they held in bondage. In 1755 a rule of discipline was adopted barring out all slave-trading members; three years later all were advised to free their slaves, and in 1776 they were forced to do so or quit the Society. Thus ended slavery among the American Quakers, who became the first abolitionists. Moreover, their agitation for three-quarters of a century had created so strong an anti-slavery sentiment among the non-Quaker population that in 1780, Pennsylvania passed an act for the gradual emancipation of its slaves. To the Quakers belongs a large share of the glory of universal freedom in America.

1750–80

Growth of Quaker movement against slavery

Abolished among them

Penn, however, had succeeded in carrying through a new treaty with the Indians, in which they acknowledged themselves subjects of Great Britain and amenable to provincial laws, in return for being admitted to the equal protection of the

New Indian treaty

laws with all other inhabitants. Also, they were asked not to give credence to any ill reports of the English till they had given a chance of reply to the Penn interests, who would "do the same by them." 1700–1

This treaty likewise confirmed Penn's title to the lands of the Susquehanna Indians, which he had bought from the Five Nations through Governor Dongan of New York. It seems odd that Penn, who would not acknowledge the right of the English king to grant away lands he did not own, was willing to take a grant from the Iroquois of lands belonging to another tribe, to which their own claim was merely the will and ability to scalp the occupants if they resisted; and those occupants had justly denied the right of the Five Nations to alienate their lands, to which the Iroquois had replied by sternly ordering them off. Nothing proves more decisively that the essential reason why the Quakers had no Indian troubles was not their superior good treatment of the natives,—though that may be conceded,—but their sagacity in buying up the Indian overlords of the neighboring tribes. But the new treaty, and Penn's moderation and equity, secured the good-will of the tribe, the Susquehannas or Conestogas.

Penn buys Susquehannas' lands from Iroquois

Rumors now became rife of the English government's intention to set aside the proprietary charters, and unite all the American colonies in one vast whole. Penn had meant to spend the rest of his years in America, but it was urgent that he return home to save his property. Before

Alarmed for his charter

1701

departing, he summoned the Assembly in September 1701, and gave the people a new charter, under which they continued to live until freed from British dominion altogether. Its principal object was to safeguard the same property against the colony itself, of whose disposition to think first of its own interest he had had bitter experience before. The session was nearly broken up by the violent animosity between the Delaware and Pennsylvania delegates; Delaware had finally to be promised the right to secede and set up a government of its own any time within three years thereafter, with the same privilege as when united with Pennsylvania,—a right incorporated in the charter,—to enable the work to go on.

New Pennsylvania charter

Delawarians fractious

Like every new frame of government he had given them since the first, this enlarged the powers of the executive relatively to those of the Assembly. The latter should consist of four members from each county, or more if the governor and Assembly so agreed. As before, it chose its own officers and was the sole judge of the election and qualifications of its members; and could prepare bills and impeach criminals. But the governor could summon, prorogue, and dissolve it at will, appoint his own Council, and discharge singly the whole executive functions of the government; and retained his veto. Liberty of conscience, and equal right of all sects to vote and hold office, were reaffirmed; and could never be restricted without the consent of the governor and six-sevenths of the Assembly.

Provisions of new charter

His interests in the sale and lease of vacant lands were his chief care at present, and they had become valuable enough for the Assembly to propose to control them; but he finally persuaded it to leave them in his hands. It would have done better for the general welfare to persist: the proprietaries did nothing for the province it could not have done better for itself; they brought some smirches on it which it would not have brought on itself, and their interests were long in direct contradiction with its own. Two generations later, the long "Pennamite wars" over the Wyoming district were for years won by Connecticut, because the Penn heirs tried to keep the territory unsettled to lease out in great feudal "patroonships," and the Pennsylvania people felt no interest in fighting their battles against *bona fide* settlers. Indeed, Pennsylvanians who wished to settle there were the strongest allies of Connecticut.

Penn clings to his lands

To ill result

The first post-office was now established. Its long neglect seems strange in this age; but there were no newspapers to circulate then, and the limited correspondence by letter was chiefly official and by the hands of messengers. The postmaster required no clerk, and for thirty-six years the department cost the government more than it returned.

First post-office

Penn at once appointed an advisory Council of State, which should perform the executive functions in case of the death or absence of both governor and deputy-governor; as the latter he appointed Colonel Andrew Hamilton, formerly

Devolution of executive

1701-18

governor of New Jersey. Hamilton organized a militia force, and effected the first organization of the postal service; but died in April 1703.

Philadelphia was also given a new charter; and Penn departed with his family for England, arriving December 1701. From that time until William III.'s death in March 1702, he was engaged in a strenuous controversy with the government, which had fully decided upon consolidating the American provinces. But the breaking out of the War of the Spanish Succession, the league for which was organized just before William's death, kept the English government too busy in Europe, and it never again had strength for the task till the colonies had grown far too strong.

Why American provinces were not consolidated

But other troubles pressed upon Penn. His private affairs were greatly embarrassed by his American outlays and the lack of remittances thence. He was forced to mortgage his proprietary interests; and being unable to redeem them, agreed on a sale to the government for £12,000, or less than $200,000 on present values, though the property was worth millions under good management. But a stroke of paralysis in 1712 broke off the negotiations, and (perhaps unfortunately) saved his property for his heirs. Penn lived six years after this, but repeated strokes disqualified his mind and memory for business.

Penn's mind breaks down

He was scarcely out of sight of his "Holy Experiment" before contentions broke out afresh. The Delaware Assemblymen refused to sit with

WILLIAM PENN.

From a medallion made by his contemporary Sylvanus Neven, and said by the family then to be an excellent likeness. This was the original of the fantastic statue with a broad brimmed hat (which Penn did not wear) made in England by an unknown artist for Lord Lo Despenser, at High Wycombe, by imagining what a front view would look like, and adding the special Quaker garb which Penn, a gentleman and not a fanatic, did not affect: and which was bought from the Despenser estate by John Penn and given to the Pennsylvania Hospital, in whose grounds it still remains.

RELEASE SIGNED BY WILLIAM PENN IN 1702.

Whitehall 2—10—1702

I do hereby declare & Promess that I will take no advantage of the Queens Royall Approbation of Coll Andrew Hamilton to be my Lieut Gover of Pensylvania & Countys annexed, in reference to the Queens Instructions to the Govrnmt of the sayd lower Countys after ye expiration thereof.

WM PENN

My Declaration
tion ye Ends of
Ty & Plant

WILLIAM PENN.

From a medallion made by his contemporary Sylvanus Bevan, and said by the family then to be an excellent likeness. This was the original of the fantastic statue with a broad-brimmed hat (which Penn did not wear), made in England by an unknown artist for Lord Le Despenser, at High Wycombe, by imagining what a front view would look like, and adding the special Quaker garb which Penn, a gentleman and not a fanatic, did not affect; and which was bought from the Despenser estate by John Penn and given to the Pennsylvania Hospital, in whose grounds it still remains.

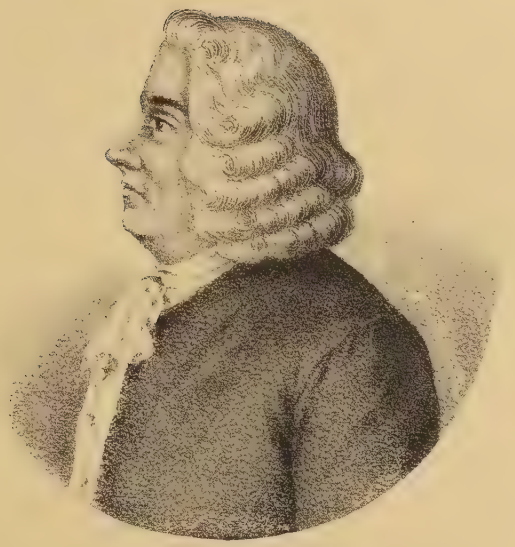
RELEASE SIGNED BY WILLIAM PENN IN 1702.

Whitehall 2—10^{br}—1702

I do hereby declare & Promess that I will take no advantage of the Queens Royall approbation of Coll Andrew Hamilton to be my Lievt Governr of Pennsylvania & Countys annexed, in reference to the Queens Pretensions to the Governmt of the sayd lower Countys after ye expiration thereof,

WM PENN

My Declaration ye Lds of Tr & Plant



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my Declara
tion of
Ap 1701

RELEASE SIGNED BY WILLIAM PENN.

the Pennsylvanians, and opened an independent session. After about a year they were induced by Hamilton to request admission again to the regular body, but the Pennsylvanians in retaliation refused to admit them. The breach was now irreparable, and in 1704 Delaware set up its own permanent government at New Castle.

1701–5

Delaware's final secession

In 1704 Penn appointed John Evans in Hamilton's stead. His previous record is unknown, and his subsequent one is unpleasant. He was accompanied to America by Penn's eldest son William, then twenty-eight; they arrived on the 2d of February, 1704, and were warmly welcomed. Six days later William Jr. was appointed a Councillor. He at once joined the opposition in holding illegal his father's order not to recognize laws until approved by the proprietary. This was not championship of provincial rights, but vanity of making the Council the final power. It turned his father's party against him; and the good-will of the other he soon threw away, by appearing as a public-house brawler and a person altogether disagreeable to respectable citizens.

William Penn, Jr.

His immoralities, despite his influential position, at length called forth remonstrances from his true friends—among others, James Logan, the colonial secretary. He resented these protests, and as natural to such a character, acted the worse to show his independence. He had an apt tutor in Evans. There were street broils, processions of lewd women dressed in men's clothes, drunken routs in low taverns, midnight smashings of

Scandalous actions

1704–6 doors and windows, and other like things which neither Quaker nor any other decent citizen could tolerate. So we are told: it is fair to remember that they were bitter political opponents of the Quaker recorders, and their performances may be exaggerated.

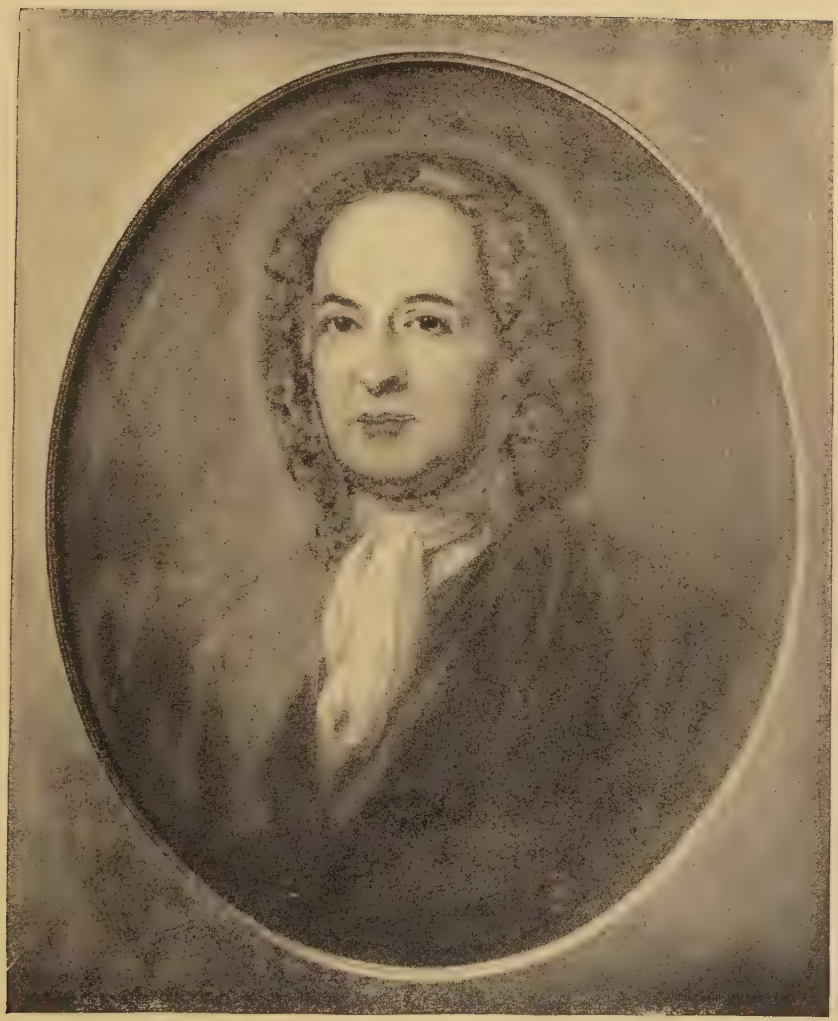
Evans and junior Penn anti-Quaker

Neither the junior Penn nor Evans were Quakers, and they were eager to assist the other colonies in their struggles with the French and Indians; a policy not to be blamed, but their personal conduct loses them sympathy for statesmanship, and the Quakers had a right to maintain their own system against those who took office expressly to overthrow it. Evans in Philadelphia was playing essentially the part of Lyford in Plymouth. Young Penn shortly after his arrival had organized a company of militia, with himself as captain. With this as a nucleus, Evans attempted to organize a general militia system throughout Pennsylvania and Delaware; which rendered him popular among the warlike Swede-Dutch in Delaware, but made him still more odious among the Quakers of Pennsylvania.

Evans tries to overthrow Quaker system

In 1706 he resorted to a foolish trick in order to show them what might come if they remained defenseless. During the annual fair a messenger rode into town, wildly announcing that the French had landed in Delaware and were marching on the capital. Consternation quickly spread, and for two days Evans rode through the streets with drawn sword, imploring the people to organize and arm. Many fled and hid in the forest; others

By a trick



JAMES LOGAN.

threw their valuables into wells or otherwise secreted them, and waited cowering. A few did as Evans hoped, procured arms and joined the hastily formed military force. But the majority remained quietly at their "weekly meetings," and refused to be stampeded by the governor's simulated frenzy. Of course the deception was soon discovered. Evans and James Logan—the latter of whom always upheld the Penn side, and had defended the ruse as expedient—were impeached by the Assembly. Both were sustained by the proprietary, however, and nothing came of the impeachment.

1706–9

Evans' ruse fails

Promoters impeached

A strong opposition party had already been organized, led by David Lloyd, whom Penn had appointed attorney-general. Lloyd was a man of pleasing address and forceful character,—"a good lawyer, and of sound judgment, but extremely pertinacious and somewhat revengeful," so James Logan wrote to young William Penn. He worked against Evans until he secured his recall in 1709, greatly to the relief of the Quakers; but Penn was very sore over the whole business, and had no faith in the professions of the Lloyd party as to regard for him. These represented the true Quakers; but as that meant the material interests of the province, it involved hostility to the proprietary claims. They carried the war into the Assembly, which assailed Penn with repeated demands that the quit-rents should be appropriated to the support of the provincial government. These were regarded by Penn as his private

Lloyd party true-blue Quaker, anti-Penn

property, and he absolutely refused to surrender
1706-12 the principal source of income.

They then transmitted to him a remonstrance entitled "Heads of Complaint," alleging that his artifice had deprived them of a number of their chartered privileges; that during his last visit he had obtained large sums to secure certain benefits for them from the British government, and had failed to do so. This irritated Penn beyond measure. Most of the complaints were groundless, others were based upon misapprehension.

Remonstrance to Penn

Through all these troubles, Penn found that he could rely implicitly on the fidelity and discretion of his friend James Logan, a man of great learning and integrity; and after the great leader's death, Logan transferred his friendship to the heirs. This devotion brought him frequently into conflict with the Lloyd faction. He was again impeached in 1707, on several charges; mainly, the having illegally inserted in the governor's commission certain clauses in conflict with the royal charter, and the holding of two incompatible offices, provincial secretary and surveyor-general. Ignoring the impeachment, Logan made preparations to visit England; the Assembly ordered him confined until he made satisfaction for his reflections on the character of sundry members; but the sheriff refused to obey the mandate. Logan did not return until 1712, by which time the old animosities were forgotten. The remainder of his life was spent in Philadelphia, where he filled many prominent positions: presiding judge of

Logan's second impeachment

Ignored

the Court of Common Pleas, mayor of Philadelphia, chief justice of the Supreme Court, president of the Council, and governor 1736-8. His later years were devoted to literature and science. He was a voluminous writer as well as a profound student. At his death he bequeathed to Philadelphia his library of over two thousand volumes.

1707–17

James Logan's later years

Penn appointed Colonel Charles Gookin lieutenant-governor in Evans' stead. Gookin was an Irishman of good family, a retired army officer of some note. "His grandfather, Sir Vincent Gookin," wrote Penn, "had been a great planter in Ireland in King James I. and King Charles I. days." He served from February 1709 to May 1717. The mildness of his manners at the outset was highly pleasing; and unbroken harmony prevailed for five years, until the session of 1714. Then the storm broke, and it raged with unabated fury throughout the remainder of his term. His mind had undoubtedly became deranged. The 15th of February was the convening day set; but bad weather prevented a quorum. The next day an organization was effected, and a committee sent to notify the governor; Gookin roundly abused them and drove them away. The public wonder may be imagined. Other outbursts followed. The justices of a county having performed their simple routine in an action against his brother-in-law, he suspended them all and left the county for six weeks without legal equipment. On another occasion, the judges of the Supreme Court at New Castle having refused publication to an

Governor Gookin

Mental derangement

1717–25

Gookin removed

irregular commission, Gookin sent for one of the judges and publicly kicked him. He grew so unbearable that in 1717 the Council petitioned for his removal; and their prayer was complied with. What subsequently became of him is not recorded.

Meanwhile the colony was growing rapidly. Pennsylvania was already a flourishing province, equal to several of the older ones, and was constantly solicited for assistance in men or money for the French and Indian wars. Penn threw his influence on that side; and the Assembly usually gave, salving themselves by their set formula as above. "We did not see it inconsistent with our principles to give the Queen money," said Isaac Norris, the rich Philadelphia Quaker, "notwithstanding any use she might put it to, that not being our part, but hers." The non-Quaker inhabitants tried repeatedly to establish a regular militia service under government auspices; but the Quakers controlled the Assembly, and they persistently refused, though they did not hinder others from forming themselves into military organizations.

The old military question

Throughout Gookin's later years he had waged relentless but futile war against the right of Quakers to abstain from taking the official oath. The leading Quakers notified his successor Keith that they would yield no point of conscience, and he wisely forbore reviving the controversy. This matter was finally disposed of in 1725, by the Assembly decreeing to accept Quakers' simple affirmation in all cases.

Question of oaths

One of Penn's last official acts was a protest to the Pennsylvania Assembly, recounting the wrongs done him. He reminded them that at the expense of his own fortune and personal care, he had conducted them into a land where prosperity and liberty above the common lot of mankind had become their portion; and yet for this he had received nothing more than sorrow and poverty in his old age, and the treatment of an enemy instead of a friend. He could no longer impute their treatment to mistakes of judgment; they had attacked his reputation, misused scurrilous papers sent over from England, made attempts upon his estate, and disfavored his friends, particularly James Logan. Their course would compel him to guard more carefully his own interests, but he would prefer to continue in kindness if they would show a disposition to reciprocate. With these reproaches there were many expressions of love and good wishes.

1718

Penn's final protest

The effect of this remonstrance was immediate and lasting. The new legislature provided for a more prompt and substantial recognition of his rights. Quit-rents and the income from the sale of lands soon reached a volume that satisfied all Penn's obligations, and left a rich legacy for Hannah Penn and the family.

Heeded

On the 30th of July, 1718, Penn peacefully breathed his last. The event was deeply mourned in Pennsylvania. How his memory and influence are regarded in the great commonwealth he established need not be told; and they can scarcely be

honored beyond his deserts, as not only a man of noble heart and soul and gentle nature, but a cool and judicious practical statesman.

Not so much can be said of all the sons who survived him, and whose careers may be summarized in this place. William, the eldest, was the son of his first wife, and like many other scapegraces, seems to have been the best beloved of his father. The others were John, Thomas, and Richard, all sons of Hannah the second wife. By his will, the founder left all his property in England and Ireland (valuable estates in both) to William; but the proprietorship in the American provinces after debts were paid, was devised to three trustees, with instructions to "dispose thereof to the Queen, or any other person, to the best advantage they can," and to pay over the proceeds to other trustees for the benefit of his children by his second wife. Forty thousand acres in Pennsylvania, however, were to be ceded to William's children. To Hannah Penn he left his personal property, and made her sole executrix of his estate.

Penn's sons

His will

William was not satisfied, and contested the will, as heir-at-law and entitled under the English system to the entire landed estate. A good deal of bitterness existed between him and the second wife and her children. The decision in chancery, however, sustained the will. The three younger brothers became the American proprietaries, and remained such until the Revolution wiped out their claims.

Vainly contested by William, Jr.

Hannah Penn survived her husband fifteen years, and managed the American estates with wisdom and prudence. She was a woman of admirable accomplishments, both of mind and person. Her eldest son John, "the American" (so named only from having been born in this country, as he resided here but one year, 1734-5), she made joint proprietary. He paid off the mortgage, annulled the agreement to dispose of the property to the Crown, compromised the dispute with his half-brother William, and made several judicious treaties with the Indians, by which vast tracts of land in the central and western portions of the province were opened to settlement. He showed himself in many ways a worthy successor of his father, and was the only one of the sons who remained a Quaker. He died in 1746, without issue, leaving his American rights to his brother Thomas.

1718–68

John Penn "the American"

Thomas Penn came to America in 1732 and remained until 1741, serving as a member of the Council. It was under him that the monstrous fraud of the Walking Purchase was perpetrated on the Indians in 1736, contrary both to his father's spirit and conduct and Quaker principles. It is probable that John was not aware of its iniquity—some half-million acres at the forks of the Delaware being taken from the Indians by a trick; and as usual, the Iroquois being used as the tool to drive them out and prevent a massacre of the white settlements. By the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, the Indian title to more than 250,000

Thomas and the Walking Purchase

acres of land was transferred to the brothers John and Thomas Penn. Thomas died in England in 1775. Richard was born in England in 1710, and died there in 1771. He was never in America, and took no active part in the management of the estate or the government of the province; his eldest son John was for many years lieutenant-governor and governor, and will be noted in his place near the close of this chapter.

Thomas, Richard, and John (2d) Penn

Pennsylvania was an exporting community almost from the beginning of its existence; having a profitable business with its neighbor provinces, especially those to the southward, with the West Indies, and the mother country. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, no less than fourteen ships were constantly employed in carrying tobacco from the ports of Pennsylvania to England. The principal exports were corn, beef, pork, fish, hides, tallow, wool, and pipe-staves, to the West Indies; horses and live-stock to the Southern plantations; and furs to England. An act of Parliament, in 1699, temporarily reduced its trade by forbidding American exportation of wool, to prevent the colonies competing with the English wool-growers; but its effect was to stimulate the manufacture of cloth in America, hurting English trade much worse. The German colonists had already introduced the manufacture of woolen and linen cloths and paper, which grew rapidly through this sort of legislation. When this act was passed, Pennsylvania was importing English manufactures to the value of nearly $100,000 a year, and

Pennsylvania's exports and manufactures

paying to the Crown a customs revenue of nearly $15,000.

The population of the colonies at the time of Penn's second return to England was distributed among the various provinces in about the following proportion: Pennsylvania, 35,000; Maryland, 30,000; Virginia, 60,000; the Carolinas, 10,000; New Jersey, 15,000; New York, 30,000; Rhode Island, 10,000; New Hampshire, 10,000; Connecticut, 30,000; Massachusetts (including Maine), 70,000 to 80,000. The figures are estimates, for nothing approximating an accurate census had then been taken; but that of Pennsylvania was fairly ascertainable, as the first settlements were still less than twenty years old, and the proprietary's land books would show the approximate number of families that had come into the province.

Colonial populations about 1750

Pennsylvania kept growing rapidly. In 1731 a law was enacted levying a tax of $1.20 on every person who should thereafter settle in the province. The declared purpose was to prevent the importation of paupers; the real object, to check the great immigration of Catholics from Ireland and Germany. The Quakers were fearful of losing their supremacy, and were especially annoyed at the threatened preponderance of a Catholic population. That there was danger of it may be reasonably inferred from a statement of the population of Pennsylvania in 1731, which will show at a glance that the growth from 1700 had been phenomenal. "That Pennsylvania," says the writer

Attempt to check Catholic immigration

referred to, "which has not any peculiar staple (like Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland), and was begun to be planted so late as 1680, should at present have more white inhabitants than all Virginia, Maryland, and both the Carolinas, is extremely remarkable. And although the youngest colony on the continent, they have by far the finest capital city of all British America, and the second in magnitude."

Extravagant estimate of population

It is so remarkable, in fact, that it is quite incredible. Those colonies in 1700 had about 100,000 people to Pennsylvania's 35,000; yet by 1731, they also growing rapidly, we are to believe that it outstripped them. But that such a statement could be made even recklessly proves a growth of immense rapidity. The new tax law, if ever enforced (which is most doubtful), did not check the growth.

Sir William Keith succeeded Gookin in May 1717. Keith had been a friend of the Stuarts; but although a Tory in principle, was a man of liberal and generous views. His first service in America was as surveyor-general of the customs for the southern district, where he won the esteem and good-will of Virginia and other Southern provinces; removed on the accession of George I., at the request of his American friends he went to England and solicited the new appointment, which after nearly two years he obtained. Owing to Penn's mental incapacity, the commission issued from the Crown, and in this respect Keith was regarded as a royal governor; and he wrongly held

Keith governor

(Reproduced by permission of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.)

himself responsible to the King rather than to the proprietary. 1717–23

The Assembly was well pleased with Keith's outset, and granted him a fair salary, which he spent liberally in keeping up a style not attempted by his predecessors, accompanied by an urbanity which made him very popular. He established a country mansion at Horsham, in Montgomery County, which is still standing; and there he spent his leisure hours in a style somewhat like that which Penn had formerly maintained at Pennsbury Manor. Like his great predecessor, he courted the friendship of the Indians, and brought them in large numbers to Horsham to enjoy his abundant hospitality. This of course made for continuing peace.

Keith's early magnificence

In the controversies between Hannah Penn and the colonists Keith took sides with the people; this enhanced his popularity in the province. The most striking instance was on the issue of a paper currency in 1723. The province, like others, was hampered in business by the lack of a sufficient circulating medium; and resorted to paper. Hannah Penn opposed the scheme, warned the people against its dangers, and assured them that as trade expanded, a sufficient volume of money would flow into their coffers. The people entertained different views, the governor sided with them, and the bills were issued, based on real estate of double the amount, with a sinking fund. The system remained in operation until the beginning of the Revolution, and until war was threatened

Popular action

maintained its parity with bullion; then it fell con-
1720–6 siderably, but was redeemed before the danger point was reached.

Keith built the first iron furnace in Delaware, and in other ways showed himself to be a man of enterprise. In 1720 he inherited his father's baronetcy, and also his debts, of which he had already accumulated a goodly supply of his own.

Keith's career spoiled by debt

The increased burden was heavier than he could bear; it embittered the rest of his life, and on the surface altered his disposition. He resorted to various dishonorable expedients to evade or put off his creditors, and lost much of his former popularity. He played desperately to keep it, and was unfaithful to the proprietary interests without the excuse of public expediency. Hannah Penn wrote him confidential instructions requiring him to defer to the Council in all important matters. To retain popular favor, he had long since broken away from the Council; he violated her confidence, laid the communication before the Assembly, and so irritated the people that for a time revolution threatened the proprietary. Mrs. Penn, realizing

Supplanted by Gordon

the danger to the American estate, replaced him (with the Crown's consent) in 1726 by Patrick Gordon, a distinguished soldier of good reputation.

Keith thereupon published a "vindication," and undertook to head an opposition party. He was chosen a member of the Assembly, but failed to secure the Speakership at which he aimed. He was re-elected the following year; but his creditors

had become so importunate that he could no longer bear the pressure, and in March of 1728 he surreptitiously embarked for England, sailing from New Castle to avoid the sheriff's orders. He was at length arrested for debt and thrown into Old Bailey, where he died in poverty and neglect. He deserved a better fate, but he did not possess sufficient strength of character to rise entirely above reproach. He meant well, but was not always able to carry out his intentions. He took a great fancy to Franklin, who was then a young printer, just beginning life at Philadelphia; but he grossly deceived the future philosopher through his inability to make his intentions good, and Franklin retained an unfriendly memory of him to the day of his death.

1727–30

Keith's sad fate

Tricks Franklin

Patrick Gordon was an able and conscientious man. In his first address to the Assembly he declared that he had been a soldier, that he knew nothing of the crooked ways of politicians, and that he would endeavor to be sincere and straightforward in all his acts and communications. He kept his word faithfully. He continued to administer the government for ten years, until his death in 1736, and during the whole time there was no serious clash between him and the colonists. In 1728 the governor convened a grand council of the Pennsylvania Indians at Philadelphia, to renew the treaties and assurances of friendship. Gordon addressed them with such tact that they declared with one voice, "The governor's words are all right and good; we have never had any

Governor Gordon

1728–40

such speech since William Penn was here." When the council ended they departed for their forest homes, loaded with presents and a sincere love in their hearts for the "children of Onas."[1]

Gordon's death

Governor Gordon, dying in 1736, universally lamented, was succeeded two years later by Sir George Thomas. During the interval James Logan, now sixty-two, performed the duties of executive to the entire satisfaction of the people. Hannah Penn had been dead three years; but the colony remained in the Penn family, and Logan acted especially as their faithful representative. Thomas received his appointment in 1737, but was detained a year longer in England on account of the old boundary dispute with the Baltimores. Finally a temporary adjustment was effected: each governor to have jurisdiction over the people from his own province settled in the disputed territory, until the line of demarkation could be established.

Sir George Thomas

Thomas was a wealthy planter of the island of Antigua, and he rendered himself exceedingly unpopular by his haughty manners and arbitrary administration. When war was threatened with Spain, he attempted to organize an army for the defense of the province, although the Assembly had stubbornly refused to vote supplies. He then aroused the intense opposition of the Quakers by refusing to sign the ordinary bills; but finally surrendered to the popular will and adopted a

[1] Onas, "feather," quill, *i. e.* pen, was the punning Indian translation of Penn's name.

more conciliatory course. He thus acquired toward the end of his term a considerable amount of popularity, which he sustained by judicious action, so that when he resigned in 1747 there was general regret.

1740–63

Thomas gains sense and liking

The next sixteen years—except the Braddock expedition in 1755, which is recorded under the French and Indian War—present few salient points. John Penn, the eldest son of Richard Penn, became lieutenant-governor in 1763. He found the province on the verge of civil war, growing out of Indian troubles which had followed Braddock's defeat. The government had endeavored to appease the savages with large presents; a policy that aroused the profoundest disfavor among the Scotch-Irish settlers on the frontier, for they saw vast sums of money spent in purchasing presents for the very Indians who had devastated their homes and reduced themselves and their families to destitution.

Quaker Indian policy incenses frontiersmen

Accordingly, in December of 1763, a party of desperate young men about Paxton banded themselves together and destroyed a peaceable Indian village at Conestoga, killing and scalping all whom they found at home. The authorities gathered the remnant of the tribe into the penitentiary at Lancaster for security, and offered a reward for the apprehension of the murderers. A few days later a troop of horsemen broke into the building and massacred the inmates, thus practically annihilating the tribe. Governor Penn issued a proclamation offering rewards for the arrest of the new

"Paxton Boys" massacre Conestogas

murderers; but none of them were apprehended.

1763–8 A battalion of regular soldiers was ordered to Lancaster. But the "Paxton Boys," as they were called, shortly appeared at Germantown, almost within the limits of the capital, on their way to murder the Bethlehem Indians, who were sheltered in barracks within the present limits of Northampton County. The fear of an attempt by them to capture and revolutionize Philadelphia has been already noted.

"Paxton Boys" menace Philadelphia

For some time Penn was on very friendly terms with Franklin, who had been regularly elected to the Assembly for fourteen years, and was Speaker in 1764; then he took offense at Franklin's liberal ideas, and throwing his personal and official influence against him, defeated him for re-election by twenty-five votes out of over four thousand. But his victory only raised Franklin to a more influential position: the new Assembly at once chose him colonial agent in London, where his influence over the destinies of the province far exceeded that of the governor.

John Penn's futile hostility to Franklin

In 1768 Penn negotiated a general treaty with the Indians at Fort Stanwix, which is referred to as the happiest event in his administration. It secured peace to the colonists until the outbreak of the Revolution.

In 1754 had begun a struggle with Connecticut over a great section of Pennsylvania's northern territory, "Wyoming," which was not finally quieted for nearly half a century. The impelling causes were Connecticut's small bounds and scanty

Wyoming

tillable soil, swelling population, and reluctance to be prevented from ever expanding. The legal basis was, that its charter extended its bounds westward to the Pacific; and as its southern boundary was 41° N. L., this would cut off Pennsylvania's last northern degree, or over a third of its entire present area. The equitable grounds were, that the Penn heirs had kept these lands out of settlement, to lease them in the far future on long terms for great feudal manors, meanwhile leaving them as a wilderness for a few savages to roam in, while Connecticut wished to people them at once with freehold settlers.

Causes of Wyoming struggle with Connecticut

Connecticut held that as its charter far antedated Pennsylvania's, the former should rule in case of conflict. It is true that this conflict had been known ever since Penn's was given, over seventy years before; much earlier still, the Duke of York's New York was a far grosser violation, as near by and taking away half the colony's home plot. The Crown from the first had been partially ignorant, partially reckless, and partially defiant in overriding territorial patents with new ones. This gave rise to many long and envenomed struggles; usually settled by some sort of compromise on the rough equities of actual occupation. Connecticut had so settled with the Duke of York, keeping what she had, but resigning what she hoped for. Her dispute with the Penns was simply held over. About the middle of the eighteenth century she revived the question of the western extent of the New England charters along the

Connecticut struggles for its charter boundaries

1753–7

Connecticut's fertile colonizing policy

whole New England border. The action into which she urged New Hampshire created the State of Vermont; that in Pennsylvania would have created another State, an outlier of New England between Pennsylvania and Ohio, had the Revolution been postponed another decade.

We can only give a brief outline of the contest, which is a long and exciting drama. Connecticut, in giving up the New York portion of her western extension to a contestant too powerful to resist, had neither in law nor equity relinquished the Pennsylvania part; whether her long *laches* in enforcing her rights had done so is another question, but according to repeated English decisions, the Penns' *laches* in occupying their lands would operate as an abandonment against actual occupiers. At any rate, in 1753 Connecticut set on foot a movement to colonize on the Delaware and Susquehanna; in 1754 the Susquehanna Company was formed, and shortly afterward the Delaware Company. The former company, with 638 Connecticut members, bought of the Five Nations on July 11, 1754, a strip of one hundred and twenty miles west from ten miles east of the Susquehanna, and in width reaching from 41° to 42°, or the northern boundary of Pennsylvania.

Her legal and equitable rights

Susquehanna Company's purchase

The Penn government objected to this, though its commissioners at the Albany Congress the same year had not denied that Connecticut's charter extended to the Pacific; but the two Connecticut companies began to raise funds for settlement. Something was done on the Delaware in 1757; the

Susquehanna Company did not begin till 1762, but it began with vigor, started a settlement near Wilkesbarre, and the next year founded that place, not so named till later. The Penn authorities (we must carefully discriminate them from the people of Pennsylvania, who were either indifferent or sympathized with the new settlers) hounded on the Indians to destroy the settlement. In 1768 a new and strong force came, headed by a notable man, Captain Zebulon Butler, a veteran of the French and Indian War.

1762–75

First settlement of Wyoming

Then began a most amusing series of evictions and repossessions. Four times in one year the Connecticut settlers were driven out; four times they returned and drove out their ejectors. The Connecticut men built "Forty Fort"; the "Pennamites" captured it with a four-pound cannon; the Yankees recaptured the fort, cannon and all, and held it. The Pennamites built an opposition fort; the Penns had leased (not sold) small farms to numbers of them on condition of fighting off the Connecticut settlers: but the Penns' case was much like that of the French against the English in the French and Indian War—it was mere military occupancy against a rolling tide of colonists, and of course settlement won. A large band of Pennsylvanians under an able and resolute leader joined the Connecticut forces to share their lands; while the Penns could raise no militia force of any size, the people having no concern to shed their blood in order to fill the pockets of absentee patroons.

First "Pennamite War"

Pennsylvanians aid Connecticut men

1775–86

Connecticut held possession, filled the district with townships, developed thriving villages, and in 1775 had some three thousand settlers there, rapidly increasing, and forming a continuous line of townships from the Susquehanna to the Delaware. In 1774 the entire settled district was made a town of Litchfield County, Connecticut, named Westmoreland, and sent representatives to the legislature; two years later it was made a county, with complete affiliation of its government, courts, etc., to Connecticut, and in the Revolution its sons formed a regiment of the Continental army.

Connecticut richly populates Wyoming

The further history takes us far into future volumes; but in no other place would the scattered threads be taken up. The Revolution transferred the ownership of Pennsylvania's soil to its people, and thenceforth the whole might of the State was concerned in keeping its territory for itself.

Even so, there would have been a duel to the death but for the horrible Tory-Indian massacre of 1778, perpetrated on Wyoming while its best blood was away in the national armies, which temporarily exterminated the settlement and butchered a great part of its people. This enabled Pennsylvania to fix a firm grasp on it; and in 1782, under the Confederation, a special court awarded the district to Pennsylvania. The State not merely assumed rights of government thereupon, but undertook to confiscate the private property of the old settlers. After something like a civil war, the Susquehanna Company was revived in 1786; a mass of new Connecticut men came on

Wyoming massacre gives it to Pennsylvania

to support their brethren, including Ethan Allen and several other Green Mountain Boys, full of fight; a new State was about to be organized. 1771–99

The Pennsylvania legislature finally passed an act recognizing private property rights, and formed the territory into Luzerne County; but the new Pennsylvania claimants to the lands were rancorously bitter against the act, and forced the legislature to suspend it in 1788 and repeal it in 1790, leaving the old settlers at the mercy of the new. The old were not men to submit, and did not; but it was not till nine years more of strife that the Connecticut men's rights were finally recognized. Long before, in 1786, Connecticut itself had received as compensation the "Western Reserve" of Ohio.

Connecticut men retain Wyoming lands

On the death of his father in 1771 Penn embarked for England, where he remained two years; returning in August 1773, with a commission as governor in his own right by deputation of his uncle Thomas Penn. He was the last of the proprietary founders, his term extending up to the Revolutionary era.

During the Stamp Act and the kindred troubles, Penn took a decided stand against taxation without representation, and in other respects acted with the colonial party; but at the outbreak of the Revolution he tried to steer a middle course, and both parties suspected him. The constitutional convention of August 1776 ignored Penn's authority, and vested the government of the province in a supreme executive council. Penn refused

John Penn in the storm years

1776–9

to recognize its authority, and used threats, but fruitlessly; and when Howe's army was about to occupy Philadelphia in 1777, Penn was conveyed to a place of safety, to keep a regularly commissioned royal governor out of reach of British seduction. He was released the following year, and spent the remainder of his life at Philadelphia, his country estate being in the present Fairmount Park.

John Penn's last years

On June 28, 1779, the legislature transferred all property in the soil to the State, restricting the Penns to actual purchases made from private persons, and to the manors or tenths set aside for them prior to the Declaration of Independence. As equitable compensation, a sum equivalent to about $650,000 was voted to the heirs and devisees of Thomas and Richard Penn, to be paid within three years after the restoration of peace. The British government established a pension for the Penn family of about $20,000 a year, which was paid regularly for nearly a hundred years, being commuted only after the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Final fortunes of Penn family

CHAPTER XXVI.

MASSACHUSETTS AND MAINE

I.—TO THE END OF SALEM WITCHCRAFT

1660

The death of Cromwell on the anniversary of the great victories of Dunbar and Worcester removed from England the only man strong enough to hold in check the discordant elements in English politics. After two years of varied experiment, all parties were ready to revert to the old system as the only protection against factional war. On the 25th of May, 1660, Charles II. landed at Dover and was welcomed "by all the people making joyful shouts, the great guns from the castle and ships telling aloud the happy news of this his entrance upon English ground."

The Restoration

Across the Atlantic, the progress of affairs in England had been watched with varying emotions by the Puritan colonies. On the whole they had walked circumspectly, with no official approval of the execution of the King, no direct public support of the Cromwellian government. Their great prosperity and their value to the mother country were well known and appreciated. They were, however, the last stronghold of Puritanism, now prostrate in England; and were apprehensive of a conflict not long delayed.

Effect on Puritan colonies

1660

As soon as the old machinery of King, Lords, and Commons was in motion again, the attention of Chancellor Hyde was directed toward these outlying portions of the realm. In July 1660 a Committee for Trade and Plantations was appointed, followed later by a formal revival of the Council so named. This board was to obtain information of the conditions of the plantations; to procure copies of all commissions, patents, and grants; to correspond with the governors of the colonies concerning their laws, population, and means of defense, their products and trade; to adopt the best features of the colonial systems of other nations, and concert measures to render the colonies more helpful to the mother country and each other; to devise means for sending out the vagrant and unprofitable classes as servants; and especially the propagation of the gospel was committed to their care.

Board of Trade and Plantations

Meanwhile, the status of the three chief New England colonies was affected materially by the reception and protection of the regicides. By the agreement which "restored" Charles II. to the throne, the pardoning power was left mainly to the discretion of the Convention Parliament; but it was evident that those especially active in compassing the death of the King's father could not expect mercy. Charles' party surpassed himself in fury at them. It was now their turn to fly. Puritan New England promised the best refuge. The first knowledge of the Restoration was brought to Massachusetts by Edward Whalley and William

Proscription of regicides

Goffe, two of the judges of Charles I., who found there secret protection. 1660-1

Orders of arrest soon followed the fugitives; but the colonial officials connived at their escape, and they presently found safety in the Connecticut towns, where Whalley made his abode in a stone cavern. At the same time the cautious General Court of Massachusetts prepared a conciliatory address to the King, written in a spirit of modest and moderate loyalty. The King returned a gracious answer, but he was not to be moved from his purpose with respect to the regicides. He demanded their rendition, and the authorities showed a surface activity in apprehending them, knowing that they were safe in Western New England.

Escape of Goffe and Whalley

Charles was much offended at their escape, and grew cold towards Massachusetts. It was deemed advisable the year after the Restoration to send Norton and Bradstreet to London as colonial representatives. The persecution of the Quakers had also to be palliated; but in the state of English feeling toward them, this was no onerous task. Even so, the agents had their hands full and their hearts heavy with explanations which did not explain; but in the main purpose their mission was successful,—they secured a confirmation of the charter which gave the colony a legal existence.

Charles' anger

Massachusetts' appeal for its charter

In return, Charles safeguarded royal authority by exacting almost impossible conditions. He demanded a review of all acts passed during the entire Commonwealth, and a repeal of those contrary to present legal authority; that all citizens

Charles' demands

1661–4

in Massachusetts take an oath of allegiance to the Crown *de novo;* that all writs issue and all legal proceedings be conducted in the King's name; that the Church of England have a right to institute the authorized worship in the colony, and her members be not prejudiced by their adherence thereto; and that the suffrage be equally open to all Protestant bodies.

Crown demands on Massachusetts

The agents agreed to transmit these conditions, but did not promise acceptance, for they knew Massachusetts would never comply save under duress. On their return the demands were published, and the subject at once taken up by the General Court. The authorities resorted to the only tactics open, those of delay; they debated and procrastinated term after term until 1664, when a crisis was precipitated by a commission from England. It consisted of Sir Robert Carr, Sir Richard Nicholls, and two less conspicuous personages named Cartright and Maverick; and was authorized to pass judgment on the colonial administration. Before this body, complaints might be preferred against the government, which for the time was helpless. Fortunately for Massachusetts, a still more important duty had been assigned to them,—to subdue Dutch New Netherland, preparatory to consolidating that and the New England colonies into one royal government.

Evaded some years

Commission to enforce them

Still Massachusetts clung to its strategic delays. When submission was urged, its officers talked wide of the subject and professed great loyalty; but whenever it came to the critical point of a

surrender to the commissioners' authority, the Court refused. The four emissaries were obliged to return to England from a fruitless mission. They complained to the King; and it is possible that but for conditions which supervened in the home kingdom, Massachusetts would at once have lost her charter as well as her Puritan exclusiveness.

1664–6

Commissioners baffled

Her salvation was accompanied if not caused by a concurrence of calamities which gave to the year 1666 the designation of *Annus Mirabilis,* or Year of Wonders,—to be commemorated forever by Dryden's muse and Defoe's pictured page. In the winter of 1664-5 the Great Plague broke out in London; by September 1665 fully six thousand people had died, business was paralyzed, and little was heard but the tolling of bells. For fully a year total depopulation seemed to impend. Then, on September 2, 1666, the Great Fire broke out and laid a large part of the city in ashes; the infected district was burned away, and no other plague of like fatality has since occurred. At this very time the political condition of Europe seriously threatened a general war. All told, the King had too much on his mind to give it to putting down New England.

The Marvelous Year

Massachusetts might well regard herself as escaping by fire. She did not, however, forget prudence, but improved the occasion by active sympathy with the afflicted mother country, and seeking peace by friendly overtures. The sympathy was beyond question genuine; doubtless, too, she

Saves Massachusetts

felt keen race partisanship in England's war with
1666 Holland. She made haste to lengthen her cords and string her stakes in several directions. It was at this juncture that Maine and New Hampshire were taken under her control; this action was reported at once to the Privy Council, and as soon as practicable a ship-load of the Maine pine-trees were shaped into spars and sent as a present to the King—an earnest of merchant vessels and revenue. Liberal contributions were forwarded for the sufferers from the London fire; and when the English fleet in the West Indies ran short of provisions, Massachusetts at her own expense furnished over $8000 worth of stores to re-supply it. Thus it happened that the evil fortunes of Old England proved the savor of life to the New.

Opportunity of Annus Mirabilis seized

The prosperity of the colonies at this period was almost unprecedented. The distractions of the mother country once more left her American dependencies to their own liberties—hence to their natural development. The restrictive legislation which the Commonwealth had so unwisely attempted to enforce became a dead letter under the Restoration—not from greater liberality, but greater home perplexities and afflictions. Thus the colonists traded where they would, exported and imported and paid no duties. Perhaps the beneficial results of commercial freedom were never more conspicuously seen than at this period in the thriving ports of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. No epoch in our history was marked, perhaps, with so great prosperity as 1660-70.

Free trade and colonial prosperity

The English magnates did not object to this prosperity *per se;* but they did object to three aspects of its actual growth. First, they believed like the rest of the world, the colonies included, that the amount of trade in the world was a fixed quantity, and all that the colonies did with other nations was so much subtracted from what England might and should have had.[1] Second, they thought this prosperity ought to yield more revenue to the hard-pushed English treasury. Third, they thought it made the colonists too independent of the home government's control. For all these reasons representatives of the Crown should be present in New England: to enforce the English monopoly of colonial trade, to manage the revenues so as to replenish the royal treasury, and to exercise authority in the name of England.

1660–76

English reasons for controlling colonies' trade

To this end, Edward Randolph in 1676 was sent to Massachusetts as inspector of customs; then his authority was augmented to comptroller of the revenues. He soon found occasion to make complaints against the colonial government, particularly on the score of non-enforcement of the Navigation Act of 1650. The General Court frankly admitted that the act was not enforced, and asserted that it could not be and ought not to be, for it was in derogation of colonial rights. The

Edward Randolph

[1] The colonists never questioned that colonial navigation laws were perfectly righteous, and the only sensible way for any mother country to act: they merely resolved not to endure them when applied to themselves, because there was more prosperity for themselves in free trade; and made their inevitable non-representation in Parliament their buttress.

1670–84

Court added one prophetic expression, which became the keyword of the American Revolution: that the navigation laws were illegal because *the people of the colonies were not represented* in Parliament; therefore they could not be justly taxed.

New England's policy on taxation

It proposed to Randolph that the difficulty be obviated by an act of the legislature providing a revenue as great as the Navigation Act would produce! Let the men of New England *tax themselves,* and they would not grudge the money. This, however, ran foul of English obligation No. 3: Randolph saw through the scheme, and indeed had no power to consent to such a measure.

The people of Massachusetts knew well that the acknowledgment of this new authority would end their chartered right of self-government. Many precautions were taken to prevent this catastrophe. The charter was put into the hands of a committee for safe-keeping.

Struggle against commissioners

The King's commissioners were virtually frozen out, not only in Massachusetts, but in Maine and New Hampshire. Nor did they receive better treatment in the towns of Connecticut. In Rhode Island, however, where the centrifugal forces had prevented unity of feeling or action, there was a kind of acquiescence in the attempted royal usurpation.

These political controversies did not greatly affect material welfare or social growth. Before the Massachusetts charter was actually revoked in 1684, the population of the New England colonies had increased to about 130,000 souls; as early as 1670 it was estimated that they could raise an

Population of New England

army of 16,000 men. Already there were rich merchants in Boston and Salem, and even in Plymouth. At least fifteen of these colonial princes were reckoned to be worth a quarter of a million dollars each, five hundred others were listed at $15,000 each: as fortunes now go, we may fairly multiply these sums by ten to indicate their financial standing then. In and about Boston there were some fifteen hundred householders, men of family and property and citizenship. All were full of local pride and affection, determined to uphold their civil rights.

1660–93

Colonial capitalists

The last quarter of the seventeenth century was an important epoch all through New England. At least three events occurred of the greatest moment. The first of these was the great Indian war on the southwestern frontier; the second was the abrogation of the colonial charters and the placing of New England under a common governor-general; the third was the flaming up of the witchcraft delusion, leaving behind it a long train of shame and gloomy memories.

The great triad of events 1675–92

The early history of Massachusetts had been comparatively free from serious difficulties with the natives. This was due partly to there being but one tribe (the Narragansetts) strong enough to dare a war, and that at the edge of the territory; but certainly in part to rigid justice done them. No possible equity, however, could have averted a final struggle of the Indians to repossess the land. It was not merely that the swelling tide of white population continually narrowed the

The Indians

Indians' territory, by bargains they only half understood at the time and always regretted afterward. Underlying even that was the great fact that the uses made of it by the two races were impossible to carry on in common. The white man had to spoil the land for the Indian in order to use it for himself. Not only did his clearings and tillage cut down much of the forest, but it drove the wild game from spaces far beyond even that, with the taints and the sound of the woodman's axe; his clearing of the streams abolished the beaver and tore away the fish weirs. The desperate efforts of the confederated tribes to oust the whites from the land had the urgency of despair; not primarily because the whites ill-used them, but because the whites made the land unusable by them.

Irrepressible conflict with Indians

At the outset, compacts were made by the New England colonists with the chiefs; and these rude treaties were kept inviolate for many years, though sometimes on the verge of Indian rupture. The most important was that made by the New Plymouth men with old Massasoit, sachem of the Wampanoags, fully described earlier. On his death in 1662 the chieftainship descended to his eldest son, Alexander;[1] he died within a year, and the younger brother, Philip, who lived at Mount Hope, became sachem.

Indian treaties, Wampanoags sachems

[1] The Indian names of the two sons of Massasoit were Moonanam and Metacomet. In 1657, the old sachem took the young men to Plymouth and had them civilized to the extent of baptism and renaming; the first was thus Englished into Alexander, and the second into Philip.

1674–5

But by this time the Wampanoags had been crowded back until their territories included only the two narrow peninsulas of Bristol and Tiverton, on the east and northeast shores of Narragansett Bay. There was also a serious personal grievance, which led first to mutual retaliations, and at length brought on open hostilities. During Alexander's single year of rule he was arrested for some act not held a misdemeanor by Indian law, taken to Boston, tried by a colonial jury, and imprisoned. He caught his death-fever in the Boston jail. Shortly afterward an under-sachem was arrested, and one of his tribe was taken with him to Boston to testify against him. Peoples much higher than Indians have taken blood revenge on such "ratting," and the native witness was murdered while returning to his countrymen. The English hanged the perpetrators of the crime. Then the Indians put on their war paint and took the tomahawk.

Cause of Indian outbreak

Philip sought to keep the peace, at least for the time: he had probably been trying to form a league against the English, but this outbreak came before his plans were complete. He professed sincere grief at his warriors' action, attempted to explain the Indian side of the controversy, and tried to restrain his own people. But the war passion had come; the young men were wild for blood and did not realize the English power. Higher races have gone to war as recklessly. The Indian women and children were sent across the bay to the protection of Canonchet, sachem of

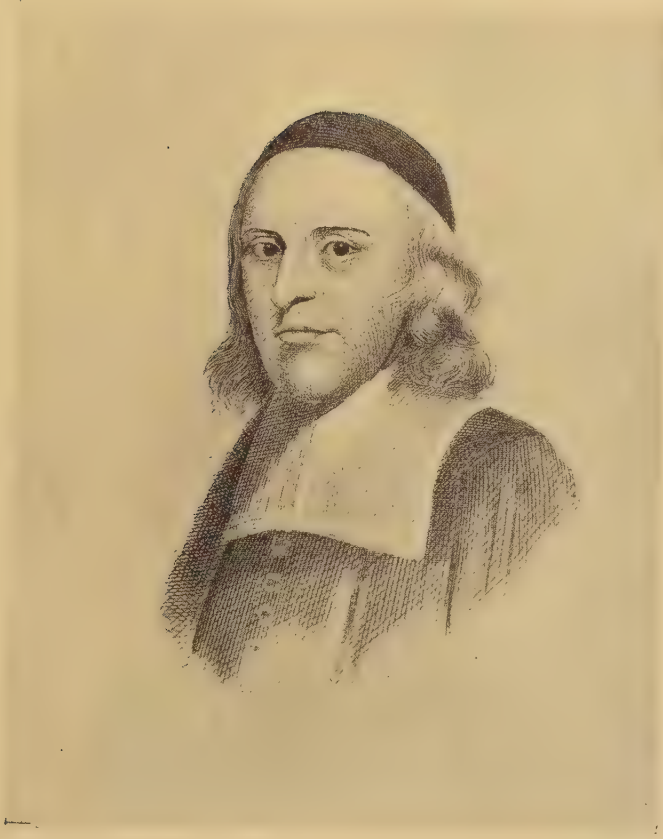
"King Philip" disfavors war

the Narragansetts, who was doubtless watching
1675 Philip's success as a "feeler" before joining. This done, on June 24, 1675, the village of Swanzey,
King Philip's War begun four miles northwest of Fall River, Massachusetts, was attacked by the Indians. Eight of the inhabitants were killed, and the alarm of war resounded through the colonies.

At Boston and Plymouth there was great excitement. Volunteer companies were formed at both places, and an invasion of the enemy's country was begun within a week. Whenever the Indians were overtaken they were routed and
Philip driven from Mount Hope shot down. The first English expedition was directed to Bristol, where Philip had his capital at Mount Hope. This situation he could not defend. With five or six hundred warriors he took to flight and crossed the arm of the bay into Tiverton. There the Wampanoag warriors entered a swamp and lay concealed, awaiting attack.

In a few days the men of Massachusetts discovered their refuge and made an onset, but were
From Tiverton beaten back with considerable losses. Then the place was surrounded and besieged. In the course of two weeks Philip and his warriors were brought to the point of starvation; but taking advantage of the darkness, they stealthily made their way out of the morass, avoided the English scouts, and escaped into the country of the Nipmucks about the head-waters of the Thames.

Such was the first passage of the war. For a while, as in all Indian wars, the natives had an advantage not only in craft and ambush, and the



GOVERNOR JOHN LEVERETT.

slight comforts to which their families were used, but in the exposure of the scattering frontier white settlements. It was only with time that the white superiority told. At this time, the Massachusetts towns in the valleys of the Connecticut and its tributaries extended as far west as Deerfield and Westfield. Many other places also, such as Lancaster and Brookfield, were so far removed from the next towns as to be beyond the reach of speedy succor in case of attack. 1675

Outlying settlements

Meantime John Leverett (afterward Sir John) had become governor of Massachusetts. In the same year Josiah Winslow succeeded to the governorship of Plymouth, and to him was now given the command-in-chief of the forces of the United Colonies. In Connecticut, now including the New Haven colony, John Winthrop Jr. had already been governor since 1657. The policy of the colonial officers was first of all to protect the exposed towns, then to wage an aggressive war until the hostile natives were thoroughly put down.

New England governors

Nearly all the border settlements between Massachusetts and Rhode Island suffered severely from the sudden outbreak of Indian ferocity. The first scenes of violence were wholly within Plymouth colony. Taunton, Dartmouth, and Rehoboth were devastated. Many private homes and hamlets were assailed and destroyed by the savages. The estate (now in the suburbs of Providence) of William Blackstone, first resident of Boston and of Rhode Island, was ravaged by a band of Pokanokets. The eccentric pioneer had

died May 26, 1675, escaping the outbreak of the
1675 war by a month.

When Philip and his warriors found a refuge and a new base of operations among the Nipmucks, the General Court of Massachusetts made overtures for peace. Commissioners with a small military force were sent into the Nipmuck country, and came to Brookfield, where it was proposed to confer with the hostile sachems. But the Indians, instead of going to the conference, laid an ambuscade not far from Brookfield. Captain Wheeler and twenty soldiers were caught in the trap; the Captain and seven others were killed outright; the remainder escaped as they could, and hastening back to Brookfield, gave the alarm. The Indians came after them pell-mell, and the people had scarcely time to get into the blockhouse before the yells of the enemy were heard on every hand.

Treacherous Indian ambuscade

The houses were fired, and the place was soon in flames in all directions. Not so, however, the blockhouse, which the people defended against the furious attacks of the savages. The yelling warriors tried in every conceivable way to set the building on fire. Burning arrows were shot against it, and torches were tied to long poles and thrust up under the eaves; but the defenders threw away the brands, splashed the roof with water, and met the devices of the Indians with other devices equally cunning. Whenever an open assault was made, the Indians were driven back by the bullets of the colonists.

Indian siege of Brookfield

On the third day of the conflict, the Indians—quite in classic fashion—devised a formidable structure like a small house on rollers, which they filled with combustibles and rolled against the fort with long poles from behind. It appeared for the moment that the defenders must either be consumed in the flames, with the women and children of the settlement, or sally forth and meet their death at the hands of the Indians, nearly four times as numerous. But just as the blockhouse began to flame, and all seemed to be lost—a generous rain (pious tradition said *from a clear sky*) poured down and put out the flames! The incident doubtless convinced the Indians that the whites' "medicine" was too powerful to combat; at any rate they did not renew the attack, and were soon put on the defensive by the arrival of Major Simon Willard from Boston—met on the march with sixty men to succor the frontier towns, by a messenger sent out from Brookfield to the older towns when first besieged. By the arrival of this force the tables were suddenly turned on the Indians, and they were obliged to decamp, leaving about eighty slain or wounded warriors to testify to savage audacity and white markmanship.

1675

Siege of Brookfield raised

Philip now made desperate efforts to form or complete a league of all the southern New England tribes. He sent his emissaries to every quarter, and scarcely a band of Indians in all Western Massachusetts and the Connecticut country failed to respond to his call. The white

Philip's great Indian league

1675

frontiersmen were only able to save themselves by the greatest vigilance. They had to go to their shops and fields with their muskets in hand. Every little meeting-house became an arsenal on Sunday. The authorities sent out an order to every settler to arm himself, and to keep at hand at least five charges of powder and ball. Those who had only match-locks were ordered to have them converted into flint-lock muskets—in that day as great an improvement on the slow-firing arm that preceded it as the needle-gun in 1866, or the Mauser of 1900, surpassed the smooth-bore and the muzzle-loading rifle.

Colonial military regulations

After the peril and escape of Brookfield, Hadley on the Connecticut was the next to feel the onset of savage hostility. On the 1st of September, 1675, the people of the town were observing a fast-day, and had gathered for services in the meeting-house of the village, when all of a sudden yells were heard; and the whites, leaving off their prayers, seized their muskets. The situation was perilous in the extreme. The church was only a clapboarded wooden building, combustible and not defensible against a formidable enemy. Worst of all, the women and children of the village were nearly all assembled there. It seemed almost inevitable that a horrible holocaust was to be the *finale* of the people of Hadley.

Indian attack on Hadley

According to a legend dear to romance, the spirit of the men seemed to fail them. They acted on the defensive, keeping the women and children in the corners of the church. The Indians grew

bolder as they made the attack; but they could not well withstand the fire of musketry in the open, so they drew back to covert. This gave to the cooped-up men of Hadley an opportunity to sally forth, but they hesitated. Just at this crisis, however, an aged man, hitherto unobserved, stood suddenly forth, saying no word but drawing his sword as if in act of command. He seemed to the astonished men of Hadley like a leader sent from heaven. They sallied forth in a spirited counter attack, glad to follow where the stalwart figure and long gray beard of the apparition pointed the way.

1675

Legendary savior of Hadley

They who had time to glance at the old man now saw that he was a soldier born. He seemed suddenly transfigured in their sight. His stature was greater than the common lot, and he seemed to know no fear. The Indians were repelled. Perhaps they too had seen the strange heroic figure leading the van, and durst not face him as he came. When the onset of the savages was broken, and the exultant village men returned from pursuit, their leader was not to be found. He seemed to have glided away as mysteriously as he had come. It has been surmised and is generally believed that the venerable hero of Hadley was none other than the regicide William Goffe, now in his seventy-fifth year, a refugee in some hiding-place unknown save to those who protected him.[1]

Goffe the Regicide

[1] Like most such stories, this was not told at the time, but grew up long afterward, and has no historical standing.

1675 It soon transpired that the attack on Hadley was only one incident of a concerted movement upon all the valley towns. On the same day, Deerfield was assailed by the Indians, who succeeded in burning some of the buildings. At Northfield the people, when attacked, took refuge in the blockhouse, but not until several lives had been lost in attempting an open defense. The village was nearly destroyed by fire. The losses of life in this neighborhood were severe. Captain Beers, who with thirty men undertook to drive the Indians out of Northfield, ran into an ambush where he lost the greater part of his force. Then Deerfield was assailed a second time and several buildings were burned. Here Captain Lathrop of Ipswich, coming up from Hadley with his command of eighty men, defended the farmers, and aided them while they completed the threshing and loading of their wheat into wagons ere they fled from the settlement. Another company of militia, under Captain Mosely, defended the rear-guard while the people came away under the lead of Lathrop's company.

Indian ravage at Northfield

The retreat was safely conducted until the 18th of September, when the whole command, protecting the ox-wagon caravan of grain, halted in a grove at the crossing of a stream, known after that day as Bloody Brook. There was no thought of danger here; and the soldiers, breaking ranks, loitered about at their pleasure, or were lulled to sleep in the autumnal air. While the fighting men were thus off guard, the Indians, who had

Ambush at Bloody Brook

stealthily followed the train, and to the number of seven hundred had formed an ambuscade at the brook crossing, rose on every hand and charged with fury upon the English company. Each warrior had chosen his own shelter, and the attack could not be withstood. All the front command under Captain Lathrop melted away; in a short time only seven of his force remained alive. The savages gave themselves up to all the revengeful joys of their race. Bloody scalping-knives were seen in every hand, and yells of triumph resounded through the forest. 1675

Lathrop's company annihilated

Meanwhile Captain Mosely, who commanded the rear-guard company, hurried down to the scene and fell furiously upon the victorious Indians, who fled before his charge. Then they returned in superior numbers, and the battle was kept up by both sides under cover till nightfall. About dark Major Treat arrived with a reinforcement of one hundred and sixty men, partly whites from Plymouth and partly friendly Mohegans. By this force the savages were routed from the scene of their victory. Mosely's loss was slight, and all was regained save the lives of Lathrop's men. In this particular, the disaster was the most severe which had thus far befallen the English in battle.

Mosely and Treat drive off Indians

The headway made by the Indian league had now fired the warriors of the remaining tribes nearly into breaking leash: the only one whose loyalty could be trusted for a week was the Mohegan. The great Narragansett nation showed

New Indian peril

1675 ominous signs of ending their half-century's hesitancy at last. They were the most civilized and progressive Indian tribe of New England, and had most of prudence and reason; they had taken counsel first of their fears, then of common-sense and Roger Williams' arguments, and to the good fortune of the colonies had so far kept peace: but that this was policy and not amity had been evident to all observers first and last, and that restraint was now removed. They could put two thousand warriors into the field; and it would be madness to let this tremendous ally of Philip have the first blow and its choice of time and occasion in the rear of the struggling colonies. It was resolved to organize a large force and strike at the heart of the savage power.

The Narragansetts

The stronghold of the Narragansetts was situated on high ground in South Kingston, Rhode Island. It included about six acres of open ground, and was surrounded with a well-constructed palisade, the approach further obstructed with felled trees. Though the inclosure was a knoll-like elevation, the surrounding country was a swampy morass which made access difficult. Against this place a colonial army of nearly one thousand men, besides one hundred and fifty Mohegan warriors, was dispatched under direction of Governor Winslow. The whites marched across the country through the snow, and came into the vicinity of the fort on the morning of the 19th of December, 1675. No approach to the palisade was found except by the way of one large fallen tree,

Expedition against them

over which the men must rush in single file to reach the entrance of the inclosure. An assault 1675
was attempted at this place by the English; but they were driven back with serious losses, including five or six of their captains.

Meanwhile, however, one division of the colonials, led by Captain Benjamin Church, found on the other side of the inclosure a place not so well defended, and at that point a successful onset was made. The Indians had for weapons both bows and firearms; in the use of the latter they had now become expert. Captain Church, though wounded, managed to break through the palisade with his command, and the wigwams on that side were soon set on fire. In these, to the number of about six hundred, were stored the provisions of the nation.

The great Narragansett battle

The battle which ensued inside of the fortification was severe, and the losses on both sides were heavy. The Indians were driven back, expelled from the fort, and obliged to throw themselves into the swamp for safety. No fewer than seven hundred were killed, and about three hundred of the wounded who were left behind died afterward. Still worse than this dreadful slaughter of the warriors was the loss of the old men, the women and children of the Narragansetts, many of whom were burned to death in their homes. The wealth of the nation was consumed. The victory of the English was complete, but their losses of killed and wounded numbered between two and three hundred. This conflict was by far

Tribe ruined

1675–6

the bloodiest and most cruel which had thus far occurred in New England since the founding of the first colony.

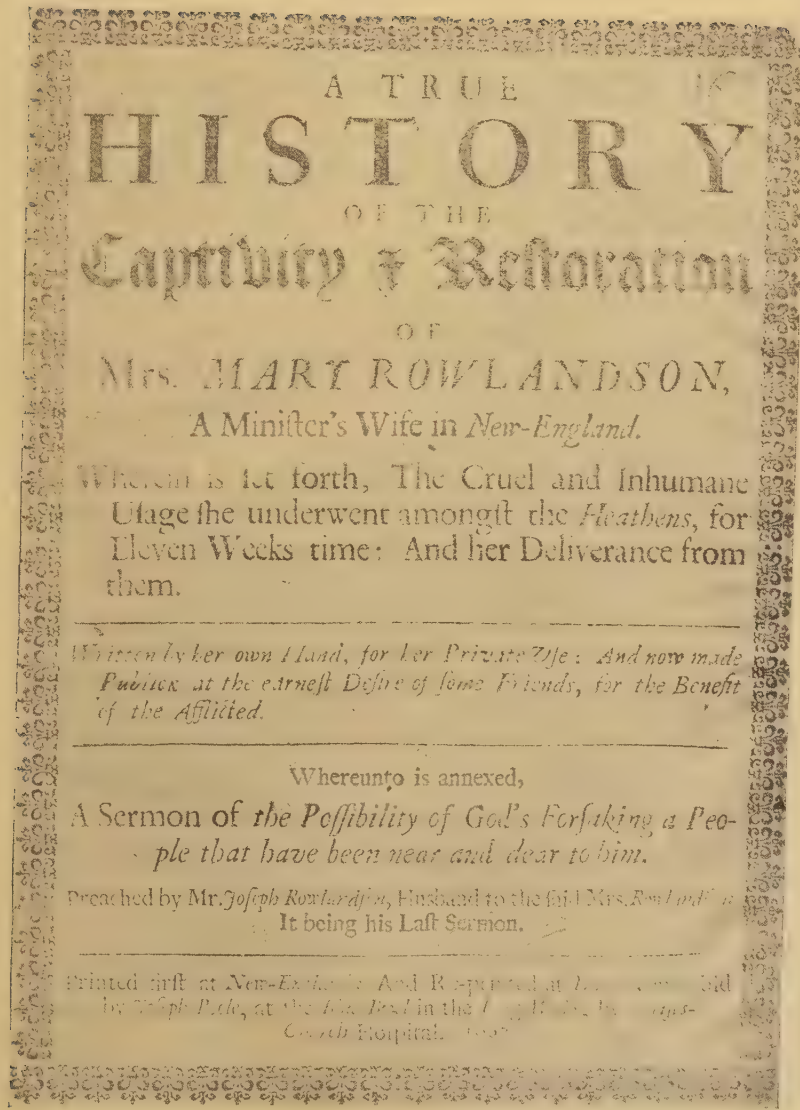
Narragansetts still a peril

The power of the Narragansetts was broken; a great number, however, remained alive, and thirsted for vengeance. Philip and his bands were still abroad; the Wachusetts in Central Massachusetts joined the confederation, and in February 1676 made an attack on Lancaster. The village was taken by the savages, whose sachem was a brother-in-law of King Philip. It was here that Mrs. Rowlandson was taken prisoner, and carried away with her child into the swamps and untrodden woods through which the Indians made their way. One of the poor woman's girls, six years old, was wounded; but the mother carried the child in her arms for a week, until the little one was relieved by death. Dreadful were the sufferings of the lone woman, who was compelled to eat whatever she could find. She subsisted on acorns and frogs and even snakes, while she was dragged along by her captors, who were attacking settlements, burning houses, and killing as many colonists as they could overtake. At last she was carried to Mount Wachusett, the headquarters of the tribe, and in course of time her friends purchased her liberation with a ransom of a hundred dollars.

Mrs. Rowlandson's capture

Indians occupy Deerfield

Thus opened the spring of 1676. The Indians in the Connecticut valley were elate. They who had ravaged Deerfield took possession of the remaining houses and the fields, planted the cleared



A TRUE

HISTORY

OF THE

Captivity & Restoration

OF

Mrs. *MARY ROWLANDSON*,

A Minister's Wife in *New-England*.

Wherein is set forth, The Cruel and Inhumane Usage she underwent amongst the *Heathens*, for Eleven Weeks time: And her Deliverance from them.

Written by her own Hand, for Her Private Use: And now made Publick at the earnest Desire of some Friends, for the Benefit of the Afflicted.

Whereunto is annexed,

A Sermon of *the Possibility of God's Forsaking a People that have been near and dear to him.*

Preached by Mr. *Joseph Rowlandson*, Husband to the said Mrs. *Rowlandson*. It being his Last Sermon.

Printed first at *New-England*: And Reprinted at *London*, and Sold by *Joseph Poole*, at the *Hand and Bible* in the *Royal Exchange*, over against *Cornhill* Hospital.

FACSIMILE TITLE-PAGE OF THE ROWLANDSON PAMPHLET.

(From the collection of Edward E. Ayer, Chicago, by permission.)

fields with corn, and made themselves at home. The news was soon carried to Hatfield. There 1676
Captain Turner raised a mounted force of one hundred men for a secret expedition; it rode twenty miles one night by way of Whately, and on the morning of May 10, came unperceived upon the Indians at Deerfield. The men hitched their horses in a ravine at some distance from what had been the village, and then came in on foot by the rear. The Indians were taken off their guard, fled before the colonial fire, and many fell. The survivors rushed pell-mell to the river banks. Some took to their canoes, but having neither paddles nor poles, were drawn into the rapids still known as Turner's Falls; others attempted to swim out of reach of the bullets, and met a like fate. Still others concealed themselves among the rocks until they were hunted out and slain. Few escaped. The whites counted one hundred and forty dead on the shore, and more than that who had perished in the river. Of the whites only a single man was lost.

Turner revenges Deerfield massacre

Turner had won a signal victory. The noise of the battle, however, had aroused a still larger body of Indians encamped not far away; and when the whites began their retreat, the red men came upon them in a fierce onset. The woods resounded with savage yells; and the colonial horsemen, seeking to regain their horses and ride away, were thrown into a panic, believing that King Philip with his whole army was at hand. Captain Turner was killed. A considerable party of his men was

Overthrown in turn

surrounded by the Indians, shot down, and scalped. 1676 By the heroism of Captain Holyoke, who commanded the rear company, the remainder of the expedition was saved from destruction. But Hatfield was obliged to receive back a body of terrorized and bleeding riders instead of a victorious and spoil-laden company.

Losses of Turner's company

The success of the Indians on this counter attack was due to the courage and ability of the chieftain Pumham. Soon afterward he made an expedition with a small body of warriors against the older settlements, and succeeded in getting within a few miles of Boston. There he was defeated, and nearly all his forces were destroyed. But he still lurked in the woods near Dedham until he was surrounded and slain, fighting to the last.

Pumham

Though Turner's rout was bloody enough, the loss of the Indians was far the greater, and the blow included the destruction of their best industrial settlement. Not only were the fields at Deerfield devastated, but the Indian fisheries at the Falls were also destroyed. Philip was obliged to beat about with diminishing forces and a prospect of no supplies for the winter.

Indian loss at Deerfield irreparable

The chieftain nevertheless made an attack on Hatfield; but the place was relieved by the Hadley men, and the Indians were driven out of the neighborhood with serious losses. The whites established themselves in strong force at Northampton; and before winter, it became evident to Philip that he must abandon the Connecticut Valley and

transfer the war to Rhode Island, which he did. While the season lasted, he made serious and partly successful attacks, not only on Seekonk, but also as far east as Plymouth, Bridgewater, and Scituate. 1676 Philip forced back to Rhode Island

The Indians moved rapidly from place to place, and the frontier settlements were kept in constant alarm. At one time the red men would divide into small bands, fall upon isolated houses, kill the people, and then away as stealthily as they had come. Then they would combine into formidable companies as if to offer battle. Frequently by their craft they gained more considerable advantages than the mere destruction of houses or even hamlets. Thus, when they attacked Sudbury, Captain Wadsworth with a company of eighty men was sent to its relief; but it fell into an ambuscade, and three-fourths of the men, including the captain, were killed. Varying Indian tactics

After the great battle in the Narragansett country, the whites held possession of their seat in South Kingston. The tribes thereabout rallied somewhat from the disaster, and one band built a fort on the high grounds in North Kingston, not far distant from the old stockade. Their tribe had for its sachem a squaw named Magnus, an able and vindictive woman, whose warriors followed her as if possessed of her spirit. A force of about three hundred English and friendly Indians was organized by Major Talcott, and sent against Squaw Magnus and her band. The Indians to about the same number were overtaken, not at Battle in North Kingston swamps

the fort, but in a near-by swamp where they lay in wait, and the whites were victorious. A large number of the Indians were killed, and nearly all of the remainder, including Magnus, were captured. Ninety of the prisoners were deliberately put to death by the whites.

Great destruction of Indians at North Kingston

Before the end of the summer the Indians showed signs of exhaustion. Their storehouses of supply were nearly all destroyed, and they had suffered not a few bloody punishments at the hands of the whites. Many of their leading sachems had been killed. While the natives thus lost in leadership, the colonial forces gained by experience and discipline. More competent officers appeared according to the emergency. Military training inures to the advantage of civilized but not of savage races, who learn nothing beyond their primary courage and craft.

Indians becoming worn out

It was at this juncture that Colonel Benjamin Church of Duxbury appeared on the scene as the most able and successful commander of the war. He had taken part in the Narragansett destruction, and was intrusted with the military companies raised at Plymouth and with certain recruits from Boston. His unvarying success gave him the confidence of all the colonial authorities, and gained him great popularity. By the latter part of the summer the Indian forces, still on the war-path, broke up into predatory companies, foraging and murdering with aimless rancor.

Benjamin Church in command

King Philip at length found himself almost deserted; he even had to cut off his long hair and

adopt a disguise to save himself from assassination. Not only the English were on his trail, but many of the Pokanokets, with Indian fickleness, were willing to betray him to his enemies. The sachem became a fugitive, with the shadow of death ever on his track. He was obliged to abandon his wife and children, and to give up all hope of final success. 1676 Philip a fugitive

Philip, however, had the proud resolution which we glorify when it happens to succeed at last. When one of his men came counseling a surrender to the English, the chieftain slew him on the spot. The slain man's brother revenged him by betraying Philip to his enemies. He found out that the sachem had made his hiding-place in a morass at the foot of Mount Hope, and informed Colonel Church of it. Church knew the topography of Pokanoket, returned with the deserter, and in the darkness of the night came unperceived to the vicinity with his company. Guards were set at the passes of the swamp, and the final scene began. Betrayed His last retreat

Philip still had a small company of followers, and these were at rest in their covert when one of them was fired at by an unseen foe. They sprang up and fled in all directions. The chieftain himself took a course which brought him within range of the gun of an English and an Indian picket; the Englishman's gun missed fire, but the ball of the treacherous Indian went to the mark. King Philip sprang forward and fell dead on his face in the edge of the swamp. The death of the Death of King Philip

great sachem occurred on the 12th of August, 1676, about two months before the death of Nathaniel Bacon in Virginia; the year 1675 is a notable landmark in both colonies.

Results of King Philip's War

After Philip's death only a few fights occurred before the Indians were wholly repressed; but the scars of the conflict were long visible on the face of the country between Boston Bay and the Connecticut. Thirteen towns had been sacked and burned; about six hundred single buildings had been destroyed, and generally the people inhabiting them were killed. According to the best estimates, six hundred inhabitants of the four colonies lost their lives by battle and murder, and as Indian captives; perhaps three times as many others were wounded, and many scores died later from the results.

Indian power definitely broken

The natives suffered even worse in the end. Their tribes were left but broken fragments, who fled into the forests beyond the Connecticut. Many hundreds were killed, and many more captured, nearly all of whom were sold as slaves in the West Indies. A large region of fertile territory was opened to the English, but it was purchased with a dreadful expenditure of blood and treasure.

But ravages still continue

But even this did not furnish a permanent peace. In fact, King Philip's War was the beginning of a long series of hostilities, not definitely ended until the treaty of Casco, August 12, 1678. Even after that compact, the frontier witnessed a succession of uprisings, with occasional murders

and burnings of houses and hamlets, until the treaty of Portsmouth, December 8, 1685. 1676–85

The second great event alluded to, far more important in enduring results, was the abrogation of the old colonial charter. Edward Randolph, as we have seen, had been baffled by the local authorities; the public notice he posted in the town-hall of Boston was torn down with the approval of the people, and matters came to the verge of an outbreak. Randolph appealed to Governor Simon Bradstreet; the latter sympathized with his people, and temporized with the question until Randolph gathered up his garments and departed for England, bearing with him a heavy burden of complaints. The King was angered, and sent Massachusetts a severe rebuke, with a threatening purpose under a veneer of affectionate royal protection. In like diplomatic manner the colonists replied, denying some things, promising others, and protesting much.

Randolph fought by Massachusetts

One of the principal controversies was the right of the colonies to coin money. They were tired of beaver-skins and wampum as currency; and, not obtaining enough coin by trade and sure of not being held to account by the Commonwealth, Massachusetts in 1652 established a mint at Boston. Like most other rights enjoyed by the colonists in America, they were driven to this sovereign act by necessity. The Boston mint was limited to the coinage of silver in four denominations: the shilling, sixpence, threepence, and twopence. The bullion was obtained mostly from trade with the

1652–76

West Indies; but much silver plate brought by the colonists from England was melted down and coined.

Thus came into existence the so-called Pine-tree silver coinage of New England. In preparing the dies, the officers of the mint chose a tree—alleged to be a pine, but looking like anything or nothing—as the distinguishing emblem of the coins. Around this was set, in lettering not very elegant, the word *Masathusets*. On the reverse were the words *New England Anno;* within the circle were the arabic figures indicating the year of the coinage, and in Roman numerals the denomination. A considerable quantity of this money passed into circulation. Of course they were not legal tender outside the province, and when a bag of New England shillings went to the mother country, it was as bullion; but they were current in all New England, and business lived on them.

Pine-tree coinage

This coinage, and the assumption of the right to undertake it, were a part of Randolph's burden of complaint. He told the King that Massachusetts had invaded the prerogatives of the Crown, without even asking his Majesty's permission; and that the coins themselves were treasonable, since they bore no emblems of England, nor recognized throne or King.

Randolph complains of it

Hereupon there happened an excellent thing in the by-play of English history. Charles II. was much offended, but his defect of indolence involved the merit of good-nature and a willingness to wait and hear the other side. It chanced that

JOHN HULL. FAC SIMILE OF HIS MS

The state of England our deare Native
Country being by the vsurpation of the
Bishops vnder great declinings both Civill
& chiefly Eclisiastrall, gods faithfull
ministers silenced, fintured & also to Imprison
mt. & banishment if they would not Conform
to read the kings & Bishops dicts & cantings
& liberty for prophanation of the Lords day &
& also Imposing vpon the ministry many popish
Injunctions wch proved A snare vnto some
Honest minds & a burden vnsupportable to many
others both ministers & people wch hath
God stirred vp Rathbone to endure a voluntary
Exile from their native soyle & to hazard the
Loss of all their sweet outward Comforts &
relations rather then to defile their Con
sciences & Ensnare themselves by holding
their tith reasonable.

Joan. Hull. minist.

John Hull Treasurer

MANUSCRIPT AND AUTOGRAPHS OF JOHN HULL, AND SPECIMENS OF PINE-TREE COINAGE.

at this time one of his friends, Sir Thomas Temple, had returned from a sojourn of some duration in Massachusetts, and Charles questioned him on the subject. Temple had taken a liking to the New-Englanders, and had also brought home with him a collection of the Boston coins. He assured the King that the colonists were simple-minded people unacquainted with legal niceties; that they had made the money for local convenience, during Cromwell's ascendency, and not daring then to use the royal arms, had gone as far as they could to express their loyalty by putting on each coin the royal oak of England, which had enabled his Majesty to escape the clutches of his enemies after the battle of Worcester! Charles had too much wit to take the story as good coin, most likely; but he was glad of a joke that left him free to have peace instead of a wrangle, laughed, said the men of Massachusetts were "a parcel of honest dogs," and dropped the subject.

1676–86

Pine-tree the Royal Oak

But the complaints of the royal emissaries (reinforced by the mutterings of Massachusetts Adullamites) multiplied; Charles' brother James, the real master of colonial affairs, became convinced and convinced his brother of a thing that was true—that the men of New England were going as far as they could to institute a commonwealth of their own, with as little regard as possible for the prerogatives of the Crown. James' conviction coincided with his desire, and the two concluded to the near-by catastrophe—not nearly so disastrous as it seemed at first.

New England independence doomed

1676–86

Massachusetts temporizes

Massachusetts all the while had adopted a temporizing policy. She hoped to keep her independence, as more than once before, by wearing the matter out. It became more and more evident that the issue was made up between the Crown and the colony, and that it was only a question of time when one party or the other must recede.

There was an interval of skirmishing from about 1680 to 1686; and while this continued, new elements were added to the controversy. The old claim of Massachusetts to jurisdiction over Maine and New Hampshire had never been decided. The representatives of those two colonies claimed independence, while Massachusetts claimed suzerainty.

Randolph's errands of evil

The dispute was pending before the English ministry at the very time when New England was torn by King Philip's War. Before the conclusion of that conflict, Edward Randolph returned to Massachusetts bearing a communication from the King, and also a batch of complaints preferred by the agents of Mason and Gorges against the colonial authorities. His coming was most unwelcome, and the demands which he made in the King's name might well arouse the profoundest apprehension. The royal message required the colonial authorities to send agents thither to answer the Gorges-Mason complaints; also for their unauthorized coinage of money; also in general to show reason why their charter should not be abrogated. Agents of the colony were appointed to make reply.

Meantime a suit had been brought in England to determine the relations of Maine and New

Hampshire to the parent colony. This gave opportunity for a decision that they were *not* subject to Massachusetts—that the rights of Sir Ferdinando Gorges had descended to his grandson, who was therefore as independent a colonial authority as the governor of Massachusetts; and enabled the Crown to play off one party against the other. This has ever been the natural policy of central governments against provinces and colonies: to disunite and thus weaken them, and make each in its turn knuckle under to authority.

1678–84

Massachusetts' right to Maine denied

On the other hand, Massachusetts gained a distinct advantage by a shrewd stroke of policy in Maine, the purchase of the old patent from its possessor for £1250. There could be no further denial of the paramountcy of Massachusetts over the northern colony. The King awoke to the fact that the shrewd men of New England had outwitted him, and by the sacrifice of a few thousand dollars had snatched the cause out of court. He ordered the bargain canceled; but Massachusetts refused, and had the law on her side.

Buys it of Gorges

Nevertheless the agents of Massachusetts had to cross the ocean, and apologize for the colony as best they might. But it was soon evident that nothing short of the subversion of colonial liberties would satisfy the home government. James in fact was bent on consolidating the colonies into one great province; and in 1683 a writ of *quo warranto* was issued against the company of Massachusetts Bay. Within a year the cause was heard in the Court of Chancery; and on the 4th of October,

Writ against her charter

1684–6

1684, a decision was rendered that the corporation had really forfeited its charter.

Massachusetts' charter vacated

The American reader must bear in mind the stirring vicissitudes of English history at this crisis. Not until the summer of 1685 was the decision of the Court of Chancery against Massachusetts transmitted to the colonists. They knew of the judgment, but were not yet officially informed, when on February 6, 1685, Charles II. was suddenly gathered to his fathers. He left no legitimate son to claim his crown, which was accordingly transferred to the head of his brother, James II., proclaimed king on the 20th of April.

Accession of James II.

The change left Massachusetts worse off than ever. James had been back of the measures against her, and was now the supreme power. At the close of April 1686, the ship *Rose* was dispatched from Southampton, having on board Joseph Dudley, appointed president of the Board of Commissioners for Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Maine, and King's Province (Rhode Island). In this body was lodged almost absolute authority to govern the New England colonies in the name of the King.

Massachusetts' new government

Joseph Dudley

Dudley had already made the acquaintance of his American subjects. He had taken part in the war with King Philip, and was one of the commissioners sent by the colonies to England in 1677. The latter relation he held for four years, during which time he gained James' confidence and played for his own hand. Before his arrival, the General Court had been officially notified of the judgment

JOSEPH DUDLEY, GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

against the colony. By great good fortune it had escaped the governorship of Colonel Percy Kirke, needed at home for Monmouth's rebellion, and whose "lambs" anticipated the sentences of the merciless Jeffreys. Dudley was an improvement, and at any rate opposition was only making themselves trouble if they were not to rebel outright. There was no legislative body remaining to oppose the usurpation of the Crown. The government was intrusted to a royal commission with Dudley at the head.

1686–7

Might have been worse

The General Court made what salvage it could from the political wreck by recording its protest against the whole proceedings; declaring that "The subjects of the Crown in America are abridged of their liberty as Englishmen, both in the matter of legislation and in laying of taxes," a policy it declared to be prejudicial alike to the incoming government and to its subjects; and that it was doubtful whether such a government ought to undertake to perform its functions in New England. Nevertheless, if the commissioners thought fit to try, they would not be resisted. The people of Massachusetts would assent—but not consent. They would, however, continue to bear themselves "as true and loyal subjects to his Majesty." Meanwhile they would humbly pray to God, and after that they would petition their gracious King for redress.

General Court makes a wry face

It soon appeared that the commission was only a stop-gap; perhaps, since Dudley was known to the colonists, it was to familiarize them a little

1686–7

with the new order before the same should be openly and defiantly instituted. Dudley went through the motions of his part, but he was not liked well enough to be sugar-coating to any pill; and his administration was too short and perfunctory to be of any importance.

Dudley superseded by Andros

A real governor was just behind the makeshift. James chose as his representative in New England Sir Edmund Andros, whose American career represented the most conspicuous attempt made by the English kings to get the upper hand of their overgrown dependencies in America. Andros was commissioned on December 19, 1686, as the successor of Dudley. His title was Governor-General of New England,—the same formerly intended by and for Gorges. He took ship in the *Kingfisher,* and arrived at Boston, bearing a commission entitling him to the government of all the northern colonies.

Elements of popular discontent

To the people of New England the coming of Andros seemed to be, as indeed it was, the portent of evil days. The opposition to the new governor-general and the scheme of government he represented sprung from several different considerations.

Loss of charter

In the first place, the people were deeply aggrieved at the loss of their charter. Upon that instrument, for more than fifty years, they had builded their hopes. The civil institutions of Massachusetts had grown out of it.

In the second place, Andros came to them by arbitrary royal appointment, not by their own

choice. They were willing enough to recognize the King of England as the sovereign and overlord of America; but for the rest they wished to govern themselves, to choose their own officers, to levy their own taxes, to make their own way in building up commonwealths and states. 1687 Desire for self-government

In the third place, the people were strongly opposed to the consolidation of the different colonies into one province. Localism had been the essence of the life of New England. The citizens of the different colonies had come to regard their local affairs as their own, to be determined by them by free discussion, by controversy, and by election. An administration imported from oversea could not possibly be adapted to the local wants of the different communities. Foreign authority must be in its own nature a gross abuse and a tyranny. Separatism of feeling

Besides all this, the different colonies had each their peculiar ideals, principles, and beliefs. It was upon these that they had been founded and developed. How therefore should they all be brought under one government except by an unrepresentative despotism? Could Rhode Island and Massachusetts be combined in a single commonwealth? This would imply that the spirit of Williams and the ghost of Endicott had come to dwell in the same lodge without a quarrel! Unity impossible

True, the four principal colonies had, *of their own motion,* formed a confederation; but this had been done without impairing the independence of any. It was done that general interests might be

protected by a common administration; but it exacted no further obedience than this. It did not disturb the principle of local self-government.

1687

Very different from all this was the consolidation now proposed. In getting his government organized, Andros followed the plan which steadily grew in favor with the colonial boards of the last two kings. Their experience had led them to believe that consolidation was the true method, and a single royal government for all the true organ, by which an effective administration of American affairs might be attained. For the present the colonists were not prepared to resist; but it cannot be doubted that they cherished the hope of a favorable opportunity to do so, and vigilantly watched for it.

The consolidation system

Andros and his council were to become the sole governing body of New England. By them laws were to be made and taxes levied, courts established and their officers appointed, market-places and ports of entry determined, and lands granted. No money could be expended except by his warrant, and he was made the commander of the militia with power to lead the forces outside the bounds of the colonies. Andros had nothing to do with framing this policy; but had he not done something to make himself acceptable, his first administrative duty might have been to quell an insurrection. He was, however, astute enough to conciliate a little the citizens of Massachusetts. He told them in a proclamation that the laws passed by the General Court and then operative

Andros and his government

in the commonwealth should stand, where not in conflict with his own commission or the laws of England, as determined by the proper authorities. 1687

The next duty was to prepare a tax schedule for the maintenance of the government and the benefit of the royal treasury. There should be a tax of one penny a pound on all property; also a poll-tax of twenty pence. All imports should pay a penny a pound ad valorem, and all liquor be subject to an excise tax. Taxation under Andros

The rates were not excessive, but the scheme was contrary to the colonial principles of taxation. They had taxed themselves by authority of the General Court, their own organ of government, representative and responsible to the people. It was not long until all mouthpieces of public opinion were throttled for criticism of a tax imposed by royal authority; by royal instructions, Edward Randolph was appointed censor, and no one was permitted to write or issue a pamphlet on public affairs without submitting it to his inspection. He enjoyed, furthermore, making an offensive function as extra-offensive as possible: authority was tasteless to him unless he could make it chafe viciously. Censorship

The Council contained members from all the colonies over which Andros ruled. This showed that the Crown was not intending an unrepresentative despotism; but to the Massachusetts patriots, it was putting down her liberties not only by traitors in her own camp, but by those imported from other colonies. It is fair to say that there was a Representation

1687-8

royal faction which thought the new system stronger and more dignified than the old, and even freer—from the Puritan churches.

Andros vs. New England religion

The Governor-General brought with him the old, undying English purpose of re-establishing the authority of the English Church over the recalcitrant people of New England. This brought him into conflict with the religious institutions of Puritanism. One such was civil marriage. The magistrates under Puritan usage were as competent to confirm the marriage relation as any minister. One of Andros' earliest edicts was an order that henceforth marriage, to be valid, must be "solemnized" by a clergyman of the Establishment. This was a blow at the whole social system of New England. But as there were too few Church clergymen there to make it enforceable at once, the Governor-General demanded of all persons married by magistrates a bond to cover consequences in case of disqualifying conditions later discovered.

Sir Edmund next and naturally sought to establish the toleration of the Episcopal form of worship, even in this seat and stronghold of Congregationalism; but the practical means deeply outraged Boston feeling. The elders of the Old South meeting-house were to yield it for Episcopal occupation during the part of the day when it was not used by the congregation: he would better have hired a room elsewhere, for a Congregational meeting-house had no sanctity in a Churchman's eyes. The Episcopal service was to be read at

the burial of the Episcopal dead—which we would not blame. But the introduction of the Bible into the courts, to swear witnesses on instead of with the uplifted hand, was a foolish outrage on accepted and harmless custom, without adding to the royal authority. It was an excellent sample of how foreign administration makes itself hated, by insisting on matters of indifference as "our way." 1687–8

Andros' offensive church innovations

The parties to the controversy were about equally perverse and obstinate, but the Puritans' element of strength was the appeal to conscience. Andros, for his part, had an obstinacy grounded on loyalism and pride; and when opposed he became severe and unreasonable.

He looked upon the people simply as the king's subjects, and laid on the rod. Their complaint of taxation without representation angered him, as he knew the taxes were needed and not ill spent. The Indian wars on the northern frontier, a predatory sequel to that with King Philip, had entailed expenses which must be met. Moreover, the royal judges had never been adequately compensated, as he alleged, and should be paid better salaries.

Quarrel over taxes

Hereupon, in the second year of his administration, Rev. John Wise, minister of Ipswich, preached to his people that to be taxed when unrepresented was tyranny, and they ought not to pay taxes levied in this arbitrary manner. For these seditious utterances Wise and others were arrested and imprisoned. They sought to free themselves by a writ of *habeas corpus*. The governor bolted the door on them by denying the writ.

Punishes seditious preaching

1687-8

This was sheer despotism, outside even Magna Charta.

Andros' epigrams

The Governor-General was given to rather witty sayings. It is a bad habit in a public officer, for they remain either to rankle, to lead him into foolish consistencies, or to reproach him with sensible inconsistencies. When the people resented his arbitrary taxation, he grew impatient and told them, "The scabbard of an English redcoat shall quickly signify as much as a justice of the peace!" —this in Massachusetts!

Against liberty

Against Indian titles

Again, he was ordered to verify the titles by which the colonists held their lands, and summoned the land-owners to bring in their deeds for examination. Many titles were by purchase from the Indians, with the signatures of the original Indian owners, the totem of the tribe, or some other official emblem, such as beaver, tomahawk, wampum, eagle, or bow-and-arrow. This is another evidence that the lands were gained by purchase and not by force; but Andros rejected the deeds with contempt, saying that they were *not worth the scratch of a bear's paw*. This would not have mattered so much but for the practical corollary, that the surveys and deeds made by the people since their existence as a commonwealth were not valid unless reviewed and confirmed by the King's authority, represented by himself; and this confirmation must be bought by a fee, plus the payment thereafter of a quit-rent.

Result—confiscation

This proposal implied not only the invalidation of everything done under the charter, but an

acknowledgment that the lands of Massachusetts were Crown lands, and themselves mere tenants of the King on sufferance. Such an intolerable mediæval view was not likely to be accepted by an entire people who had been landholders in fee simple for two generations.

1687–8

Massachusetts land titles invalid

In all this controversy it is necessary to observe how such conflicts in human society arise. They come to pass from a difference in the fundamental assumptions of the parties. The Puritans assumed that freedom, man-right, individual initiative and equality, are the first considerations in human life. Andros represented the opposite theory. His assumption was that repression, king-right, dispensation by government, and a classified society of high and low, are the bottom principles of social and governmental order. From this point of view, everything in Massachusetts and all New England seemed but a chaos of irregularities and paradoxes. Perhaps no other set of communities in human history ever built itself up in so heterogeneous a fashion as did the Puritan states in New England. Not even the ancient Greeks were more confused with irregularities, localisms, and contradictions than were the colonizations from New Hampshire to New Haven.

Andros' principles against Puritans'

Government, whenever it becomes an entity outside of man, to be fitted like a garment upon him, desires regularity. Government desires citizenship to be composed of a certain number of lay figures, upon which the garments of authority may fall without a crease. In New England, however,

1687-8

there was a preconceived prejudice against a citizenship composed of lay figures. To the men of Massachusetts it appeared that government is but an organ of society. The Puritans were right in their assumptions, and Andros was wrong in his political *credo*. He was himself the progeny of traditional conditions. The Puritans were the beginning of a new life.

Andros' principles against Puritans'

Sir Edmund was governor of Rhode Island and Connecticut, as well as Massachusetts Bay, though that naturally claimed his largest attention. He must extinguish the patents of all; and all had as much sanctity as a king of England could confer on a parchment. We shall see, in subsequent chapters, how it fared with the Governor in his attempted abolition of colonial liberties. For the present it suffices to follow his career to the end in the present colony.

War against patents

That career was intimately involved with the career of his master, which came to a sudden catastrophe. James did his duty as a good Catholic in trying to replace the old religion at the helm of England; as a result, an invitation was sent, signed by many of the leading men of the kingdom, to William of Orange, husband of James' daughter, to come to the rescue of Protestantism. On the 5th of November, 1688, William landed at Torbay with 15,000 soldiers; on the 22d of the next month King James took to flight. Such was the great but bloodless revolution of 1688.

Ended by James' deposition

The news reached Virginia early in the following year; from Virginia it went to Boston, John

Winslow the bearer; Andros promptly arrested and imprisoned him as a tattler of bad news! This action was not irrational: the information might prove a spark to the magazine of Puritan indignation. To trammel up the consequence, Sir Edmund issued a proclamation against the Prince of Orange and in favor of King James.

1688–9

Andros issues proclamation against William

These movements precipitated a crisis: watchful suspicion on both sides, and shortly open conflict. It was feared that the town might be burned. On the one side it was said that Andros, with his guards and other confederates in Boston, assisted by the ship *Rose* which lay in the harbor, was preparing to attack the Bostonians as traitors. But as James Stuart *who had been* James II. was in France, while William of Orange with his wife Mary had been proclaimed in London, it might well appear that the treason was on the other side.

Andros clearly perceived the rising of the popular tide. From the state-house he could see the bonfire on Beacon Hill, a signal north to Charlestown and Cambridge and south to Roxbury. Other signals might well be raised, like the fiery cross of the Highlanders, until the whole country should be aflame. The patriots came flocking to Boston town, and many of them carried arms.

Boston lights beacon fires

Boston has never been so great as when in insurrection. A few times in her history she has put on the fiery garment; and when this has been done, history has been made. On this occasion it wafted a rival government into the old town-house. In front, not a few soldiers had gathered. Within,

1689

in open insurrection, a company of stern men, described as "the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston and the Country adjacent," sat in judgment on the administration of Andros and condemned it *in toto*. A Declaration was there drawn up,[1] reciting the history of the usurpation, and denouncing as illegal the whole scheme of royal intrigue and oppression in New England; beginning with the appointment of the commission under Joseph Dudley, and including as the essential preliminary of all the illegal acts the abrogation of the charter. Most heartily did the "Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants" hail the accession of the Prince of Orange.

Boston issues Declaration against Andros government

News of the revolt spread rapidly through the outside towns, and to the remotest settlements. Everywhere men grasped their muskets and hurried to Boston, to join their countrymen in a cause that lay close to the hearts of all the people. In an inconceivably short space of time, an army of considerable proportions was assembled within the city.

Revolt joined by other towns

The new era was begun by the arrest of the evil-doers who had been the authors of all New England's miseries. One arrest followed close upon the heels of another. The frigate *Rose* lay in the harbor; and the people, fearing that her guns might be turned upon them in support of the

Royal officers arrested

[1] The tradition of the day ascribes the authorship to none other than Cotton Mather. If such be the fact, some patriot boy of Boston might well, in the first decade of the twentieth century, lay a wreath on the neglected tomb of that able but discredited product of Puritanism—his just repute gone down in the wreck of a lost cause.

Governor's cause, apprehended the captain when he unwarily set foot upon the shore. His lieutenant, coming in a boat to offer Andros a means of escape, was also arrested with his men. Completely cornered, Andros presented himself at the town-house in submission to the will of the citizens, and with several members of his Council was placed under arrest in a private house until the surrender of the fort, to which all were afterward removed. Edward Randolph, so long a thorn in the side of Massachusetts, was cast into the common jail, where Joseph Dudley kept him company a few days later. 1689

Andros arrested

After his removal to Castle William, Andros made two ineffectual attempts to escape, the second of which nearly attained success; the alert colonists thereafter held him a close prisoner until commands came from the King to send him to England for a hearing. He had after all only obeyed orders; and William, though he did not send him back to Massachusetts, appointed him to the governorship of Virginia in 1692.

Attempted escape

Justified by William

After the surrender of Castle William, the *Rose* was divested of her masts and sails, and lay beneath the guns of the Fort in a helpless condition. Thus was completed a revolution without violence or bloodshed, and once more Boston took upon her own shoulders the responsibilities of government. Quietly and unostentatiously the citizens reverted to their old forms. A provisional government was established in conformity to their cherished charter, and old Simon Bradstreet was

Old Massachusetts govern. ment restored

1689-92

elected to fill the office of president of the "Council for the Safety of the People and Conservation of the Peace," made up from former officials of the colony itself.

Massachusetts fails to regain charter

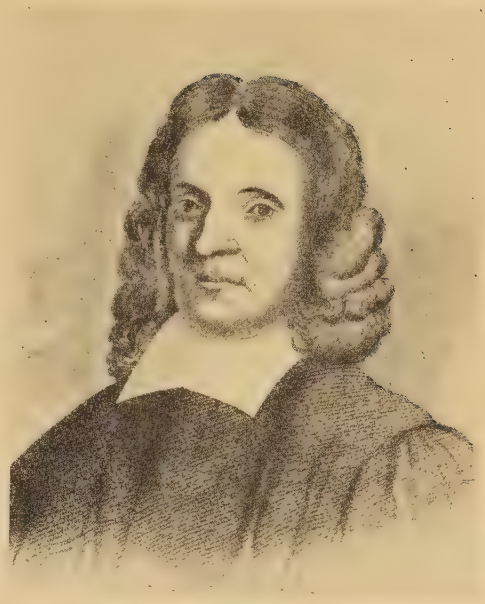
But Massachusetts with a majority of its people outside the Puritan churches was not the Massachusetts of Endicott's day, ready to fight the whole empire. The "Council" hastened to avow the dependence of Massachusetts upon the royal will; to apprise his Majesty of the merely temporary character of the provisional government; and to beseech the restoration of the old charter by the kingly favor. King William granted permission to the continuance of the new government *ad interim;* but his colonial ideas were very much like James', and indeed the same magnates formed the colonial board under both, and continued the same policy. James had only represented the official feeling: there was to be a new charter.

Or dictate renewal

The New England intercessors were powerless. Increase Mather, at the time president of Harvard College, was one of them. He had for his coadjutors Elisha Cooke, Thomas Oakes, and Ichabod Wiswall from Plymouth. But the combined eloquence of these divines could not even dictate an acceptable form for the new instrument. Chiefly by the efforts of Mather, however, the governorship of Massachusetts Bay was bestowed upon Sir William Phips, then resident in London, but a native of New England, well and favorably known to the colonists, having been a member of Mather's own church in Boston. On the 14th of May, 1692,

Phips appointed governor

INCREASE MATHER,
President of Harvard College 1685-1701.



REV. SAMUEL WILLARD.

the governor and the charter arrived in Boston Harbor.

The reconstructed province was to include the territories of Massachusetts Bay, New Plymouth, Maine, and Nova Scotia; but much against the will of the people, New Hampshire was once again separated from the parent colony. The governor and deputy, the secretary, and minor officers of the admiralty, should be appointed by the King. Legislative power was vested in a General Court or House of Assembly, to be elected annually by the people, each town having the right to send two representatives. Its laws were subject to the approval of the Crown, and must all be submitted to it; they became effective when passed, and were valid unless vetoed by the King within three years. This right of veto was the hardest to accept of all the clauses in the charter; but there was no choice, and on the convening of the General Court the whole was adopted.

New Massachusetts charter

The veto was no idle form. As was to have been expected, the first law to be disallowed was one that the colonists should be exempt from all taxes except such as were imposed by their own representative body. Thus, at the very outset, the main dispute between King and colony was revived and perpetuated.

Royal veto on laws

But the supremely important feature in the charter, which justified and vitalized it, but was bitter to the souls of the "old guard," was the fact that the citizenship was no longer restricted to members of Puritan churches. All Protestant

Church-membership franchise abolished

1691–2

religions whatsoever were placed on an absolute equality. Citizenship was based upon property, not upon religion. The old theocracy was destroyed at a stroke, though habit and real superiority of character and abilities maintained the church ascendency for a while. Slowly but surely the control slipped from the hands of the ecclesiastical party, and passed over to the interests of property and trade. The opinion of the merchant inevitably overrode the dictates of the churchman. There was a regrettable as well as beneficial side to this.

Theocracy destroyed

The Council was composed of twenty-eight citizens elected by the General Court. All other provincial officers were appointed by the governor, with the consent of the Council.

Colonial officering

Boston at this period held the first place among the towns of the New World. Her inhabitants numbered about 7,000, while the entire province of Massachusetts under the new charter held, in varying estimates, from 60,000 to 100,000. The colony boasted seventy-five thriving townships, seventeen being in New Plymouth.

Boston's rank

Phips' administration was not so successful as his previous personal career. He was born in Maine, was now forty-two, and could look back upon many strange and varying fortunes. First as a shepherd boy in the fields of Maine, then as a ship-carpenter among the docks of Boston, next as a captain on the high seas of commerce, afterwards as a naval commander under royal commission, then as a successful searcher after sunken

Phips' career

Spanish treasure ships, whereby he gained his fortune, and afterward as a leader of the colonial forces against the French in Canada,—by such a course Sir William Phips came to the climax which made him governor of New England. 1691-2

His character lacked the essential dignity and calm-minded wisdom needed for the troublesome times soon to come. He was hasty and easily angered, but too pleasure-loving and peace-loving, inclined to let affairs direct themselves rather than tire himself with humdrum business or routine duties. Naturally he let the strongest wills do his work for him; and those were the two Mathers, his religious guides. Phips was an ignorant man, prone to superstition, and therefore most susceptible to the influence of Cotton Mather, whose religious zeal at times amounted almost to the frenzy of a disordered mind; and who had now become as active and dominant a factor in public affairs as any old-time bishop. His milder father also retained much influence. They infused the conservative ideas of the old régime into the government through the easy manipulation of their tool.

Phips' character

Harvard College incorporated

One of the first acts to be passed by the new Council, however, bore no token of aberration. This was the granting of a fresh charter to Harvard College, legally incorporating it; Increase Mather became its first Doctor of Divinity.

The winter of 1691-2 was a gloomy one for New England. Their old charter of liberties had been definitely denied to them; King William's

1692

War, as it was then called, had resulted only in defeat all along the northern frontiers, entailing a repetition of the already old horrors of Indian atrocities at the hands of the savage allies of New France; and the commerce of the colony had suffered extensively under the depredations of the French privateers. These several causes combined to plunge the province deeply in debt, at the same time that her resources for gaining revenue were impoverished.

Massachusetts depressed by hardships

Religious broodings

The popular mind is open to fear and agitation in times of depression and discouragement, and is easily wrought upon by untoward events. In the midst of this winter of discontent, Cotton Mather, with fervid exhortations and morbid suggestions, had played upon the minds and foreboding imaginations of the people, already darkened by disaster. Not that the sermons of Mather were the sole and immediate cause of the delusion which was soon to overwhelm the colony, nor was the outbreak of uncontrollable panic in the early days of 1692 a new experience in history. Witchcraft has ever been the "bogeyman" on the horizon of religion. The belief in devils and their powers of obsession has been coexistent with a belief in God. Any phenomenon beyond the normal power of explanation has always been accounted for by the masses either as a manifestation of divine power, or by the malevolent interference of evil spirits.

Witchcraft on the horizon

The records of past ages contain accounts of recurring conflicts between the clergy and unbelievers. No priestly order, savage or civilized, has

ever tolerated a falling away from its standards. Any phenomena of an unusual or unknown character were always denounced as "born of the devil." The psychopathic, neurotic abnormalities of the human system, which even in this day are but dimly understood and accounted for by modern science, were at this time, as in all the ages before, unhesitatingly attributed to the subtlety and cunning of Satan himself, whom the common people and learned people alike believed to be able to enroll the souls of men in his service. In England the reign of the superstition outlasted that in America. It reached its height soon after the Restoration, when special commissions were issued for finding witches. In 1661, one hundred and twenty persons were judicially put to death for witchcraft; and it was not until 1693 that the fever of persecution in Great Britain began to burn itself out, as it did in Massachusetts; and as late as 1712 witches were still executed in England, while Scotland bound her witches to the stake until 1727.

Devils

Devils antecede physiology

Out of the vast flood of witchcraft literature which deluged the people for centuries, only three books of any importance attempted to deny its verity. In every other instance, the author presented as solemn proof of the claims of demonology every wild and extravagant tale of the day. In those days *to deny* was to draw suspicion upon the head of the skeptic, and endanger his person and his property. Not only so, but it was firmly believed, as by John Wesley a century later, that

Universality of belief

1692

Witchcraft held true as Christianity

to give up belief in witchcraft was equivalent to giving up belief in the Bible. The names of the great men of the age, with a few exceptions, were all lent to defend and strengthen the belief; and their works were widely circulated in New England.

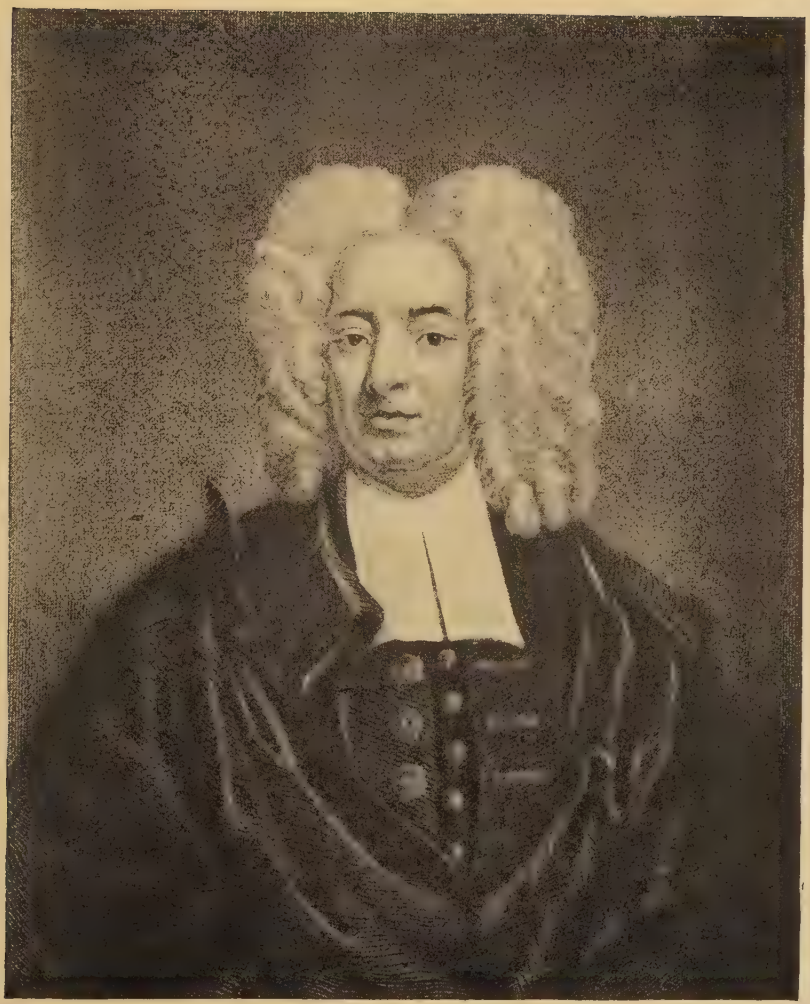
Influential literature

When clergy and laity, men, women, and children brooded over Baxter's "Certainty of the World of Spirits," Perkins' "Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft," and still more influential from its author's great position as chief justice, Sir Matthew Hale's "Rules for the Trial of Witches," it is no wonder that dread fancies should settle upon the public mind like a dark cloud.

Hale and Hopkins

Hale himself in England had sat in judgment upon many of the poor wretches hunted down by one Matthew Hopkins, who held the extraordinary office of Witch-Finder during the years 1644 to 1646. Hopkins reduced the finding of witches to a system of rules, outlining an embryo science; and Hale, with a profound belief in the reality of witchcraft, followed his lead and prepared his rules and maxims for their legal prosecution and condemnation. He based them upon the letter of the Scriptures, quoting freely from both the Old and the New Testament. It only remained for Cotton Mather's "Wonders of the Invisible World" to act as a lighted fuse to the dangerous mine already laid in the imagination of the people.

In the early years of the colony, reputed witchcraft had now and again been punished with death.



COTTON MATHER.

Later, in the decades 1660-90, scattering accusations were made; but the public attention was too seriously engrossed with the actual horrors of Indian diabolism to give much heed to imaginary devils, conjured up by personal and private spite or the dislike of a public nuisance. The time soon arrived, however, when the mood of the people was ripe for the riotous outbreak of superstitious denunciations. Disaster had been heaped upon disaster until a spirit of fear and distrust was not only dominant but rampant. War had succeeded to war; four seasons the dreaded scourge of smallpox had ravaged the towns and villages along the coast; fire had worked havoc in the city of Boston six times in the last quarter of a century; and the loss of the charter was attributed not only to the wrath of God but the machinations of the Devil.

1660-92

Religious explanation of public misfortunes

The despondent Puritans naturally brooded much over the malignant tales of witchcraft from the mother country. The gloomy foreboding reached its climax when Cotton Mather's latest dissertation on the duty of the church to suppress sorcery was published. Mather, a year or so previously, had made a special study of the case of John Goodwin's daughter in Boston. The child had taken offense at an old Irish woman by the name of Glover. The girl had evidently read of the doings of the bewitched, and accordingly fell into the conventional fits when the old woman drew near. Three other children followed her example, and the Irish woman was accused, tried, and put to death. Mather deemed it his duty to

Witchcraft cases begin

1692

make special observations of the "workings of the Devil" in this case. He took the girl into his household to record the phenomena attendant upon her attacks. She was undoubtedly a victim of hysteria, but probably also mixed her attacks with much semi-conscious invention, improved by practice; and Mather was not critical. When the Glover woman was hanged, the girl regained her normal mood—the regular course.

Cotton Mather and first witchcraft victim

The first flames of excitement broke out in Salem village,—the part now set off as Danvers. Ever since its first separation from Salem proper, the new parish had been torn by opposing factions; and no pastor was to be found with strength of character sufficient to harmonize the discordant elements. One minister succeeded another in quick rotation until 1689, when Samuel Parris, an ex-merchant, late from Barbadoes, received the call to the vacant pastorate. After some haggling over terms, Parris was duly installed.

Parris evil genius of Salem

The villagers were divided into small sets and parties; there were family feuds, personal squabbles, and constant bickering. The new minister soon gave the community a chance to indulge in its favorite amusement to the utmost. Samuel Parris was a domineering man, obstinate and self-willed to the last degree, hesitating at nothing to gain his own ends. No sooner was he fairly established than his covetous hands were laid upon the property of the church, his management of which soon split the congregation into two parties, evenly divided. Foremost among the parishioners who

opposed him are to be found the names of many who were afterwards doomed to walk the way to Witch's Hill. 1692

During the long winter evenings of 1691-2 Parris' niece and daughter of eleven and nine, with one or two friends from the neighboring houses, fell to reading and talking of the Goodwin girl's strange experiences as reported by Mather. The little circle easily passed from the tricks taught them by old Tituba, a slave of Parris, to imitation of those singular actions. This diversion had a great fascination for them; at every opportunity, the group of playmates would gather and repeat their nervous antics and contortions. From a mere amusement of their idle hours, it grew upon their fancies, until it passed beyond control and a hysterical condition supervened. Doctors were called in to quiet them, and declared them to be bewitched.

Parris children practice witchcraft convulsions

At this pronunciamento of the physicians the young people were given license, as it were, to the wildest play of their imaginations. It would be conceded in these days of scientific enlightenment that they had thrown themselves into a state of self-hypnotism. It is easy to see that it only remained for some master mind to supply motive and suggestions for almost any end. From Parris' character and the part he had played, the reader is easily able to interpret the events which follow.

Themselves declared bewitched

The afflicted children now attracted the attention of all the colony, and were the subjects of many prayers. Divine services were held at their homes. Questioned as to who had bewitched them,

1692

Salem witchcraft: Tituba's voodoo tricks

they at first pointed out old Tituba, Parris' Barbadoes slave, half negro and half Indian, who had been seen practicing her ignorant rites and incantations. Upon being soundly beaten by her master, she confessed it was she who had tormented the children; but as she promised to desist, no further punishment was inflicted upon her. A second accusation followed immediately after, of Sarah Wood, a poor old woman living on the outskirts of the town; she was arrested and sent to prison.

Parris uses delusion for personal ends

At this juncture Parris comes into the foreground. From this time forth he interrogated his niece Abigail Williams as spokeswoman of the afflicted. She responded with the names of all who had bewitched them. Armed with this list, Parris set actively to work as chief witness and prosecutor. Cotton Mather came in person to Salem to urge on the work. He recorded the trials as they proceeded, and his "Book of Memorable Providences" sets forth both the accusations and tales of the bewitched and the conduct of the denounced witches. But the old feuds in the parish suggested to resident onlookers possible motives for Parris' actions. It was noted at the time that he would stifle or turn aside the children's accusations when they fell upon his own party, while seizing with avidity upon the first mention of his opponents' names, and managing their prosecutions so as to assure for them the death sentence.

Soon the jails were filled with the victims awaiting trial,—Martha Corey, Rebecca Nurse,

Sarah Cloyce, Elizabeth Proctor, and others. The Deputy-Governor and five other chief magistrates arrived in Salem to conduct a court of inquiry. It was now March 1, 1692. Simon Bradstreet still headed the government; for Phips did not arrive in Boston until the 14th of May.

1692

First witchcraft court in Salem

The business of the day in Salem village was given over entirely to the trials. The children were confronted with the accused, and were overtaken with the usual manifestations. Upon being questioned by the judges, Parris' niece Abigail Williams gave her fancy free rein. Among other marvels of her evidence is her description of the witches' sacrament, at which she claimed to have seen the prisoner then under examination, Sarah Cloyce. The poor woman fainted with horror and shame, whereupon the children in shrill tones cried out, "Her spirit is gone to prison to her sister Nurse."

Sarah Cloyce

Rebecca Nurse, one of the first accused, was of much prominence in the village, and her family had led the opposition to Parris. The Sunday after her removal to the jail, Parris for his morning sermon took the text, "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?" Indignant at his denunciations against Mrs. Nurse, her sister, Sarah Cloyce, left the meeting-house, whereupon her own accusation and arrest speedily followed.

Rebecca Nurse

Elizabeth Proctor was then put upon the prisoners' stand, and Parris' niece gave a long account of an invitation to sign the Devil's book brought

1692

Salem witchcraft: Elizabeth Proctor

her by the prisoner. The poor woman cried out, "Dear child, it is not so; there is another judgment, dear child." But protest and indignation availed her nothing—they availed no one anything; her husband was immediately accused by the children.

Giles Corey

During the trials many curious incidents took place. Giles Corey, of eighty-one, taciturn and solitary, had been much fascinated by the examinations. He attended the trials day after day, in spite of the protestations of his wife Martha Corey, who entirely disbelieved in the superstition. While in court one day passing near the afflicted children they fell into violent convulsions, falling upon the floor in great distress. Parris demanded that Corey be brought near that they might touch him—one of the alleged tests of witchcraft: the afflicted growing calm upon contact with the witch, into whose person returned the diabolic magnetism with which their bodies were charged. Being accused and brought to trial, Giles Corey refused to plead, because he believed his conviction foredoomed, and the property of one who refused to plead could not be confiscated, so that he would save it for his children. But the punishment for such refusal was the horrible punishment of *peine forte et dure* —that is, to be pressed to death between two huge slabs of stone. The old man held firm to his resolution, and died without speaking. This is the only instance of the infliction of this penalty in America.

Peine forte et dure

Denial that witchcraft existed was considered a sure proof of being guilty of the black art, and the surest road to the gallows. Edward Bishop,

ORDER AND CERTIFICATE OF EXECUTION OF BRIDGET BISHOP FOR WITCHCRAFT, SALEM, 1692.

[Torn places in document supplied in brackets.]

To George Corwin, Gent'n, Sh'ff of the County of Essex Greeting.

WHEREAS Bridget Bishop als. Oliver the wife of Edward Bishop of Sa[lem] in the County of Essex Sawyer at a special Court of Over and Terminer held at Salem the second day of this instant month of June for the County of Essex before Nicholas Sutton and Suffolk before William Stoughton Esqr. and his associate Jus[tices] of the said Court was Indicted and arraigned upon five several Ind[ictments] for severall presenting and exercising on the Nine[teenth day of April] last past and divers other days and times before and after [certain arr-ol] Witchcraft in and upon the bodyes of Abigail Williams Ann Putnam Junr Mercy Lewis Mary Warren and Elizabeth Hubbard of Salem village single-woman whereby their bodyes were hurt, afflicted, pined, consum[med], wasted and tormented contrary to the forme of the statute in that Case [made and] pro[vided]. To which Indictm. the said Bridget Bishop pleaded not [guilty] and for Tryall thereof put herselfe upon God and her Country whereupon she was found guilty of the Felonyes and Witchcrafts wherein shee stood Indicted and sentence of Death accordingly passed as by her ye Said Justices. execution whereof yet remaines to be done. These are therefore] in the Name of their Majesties Williem and Mary now King & Queen over England &c. to will and Command you that upon Friday next being [the] Tenth Day of this instant month of June between the hours of eight and twelve in the aforenoon of the same day you safely convey the sd. Bridg[et] Bishop als. Oliver from their Pris[on] where shee stood. to the place [of] Execution and there cause her to be hanged by the neck untill she be de[ad] and of your doings herein make returne to the Clerk of the sd Court and [this] p[re]sent. And hereof you are not to fayle at your peril. And this shall be [your] sufficient warrant. Given under my hand & seal at Boston the Eighth [day] of [June in the Fourth Year of the Reigne & Queen over England &c. Anno Dom. 1692.

WM. STOUGHTON.

[June 10th-1692.

According to the within written precept I have taken the bod[ye] of the within nam. d Bridget Bishop out of their Maje[sties] Gaole in Salem and safely conveyed her to the place prov[ided] for her Execution and caused ye sd. Bridget to be hang[ed] by the neck untill she was dead [reserv'd and buried in the place] all which was according to the time and a Required and so I Ma[de] returne by me

GEORGE CORWIN Sher[iff].

ORDER AND CERTIFICATE OF EXECUTION OF BRIDGET BISHOP FOR WITCHCRAFT, SALEM, 1692.

[Torn places in document supplied in brackets.]

To George Corwin, Gent'n, high sherriffe of the County of Essex Greeting:

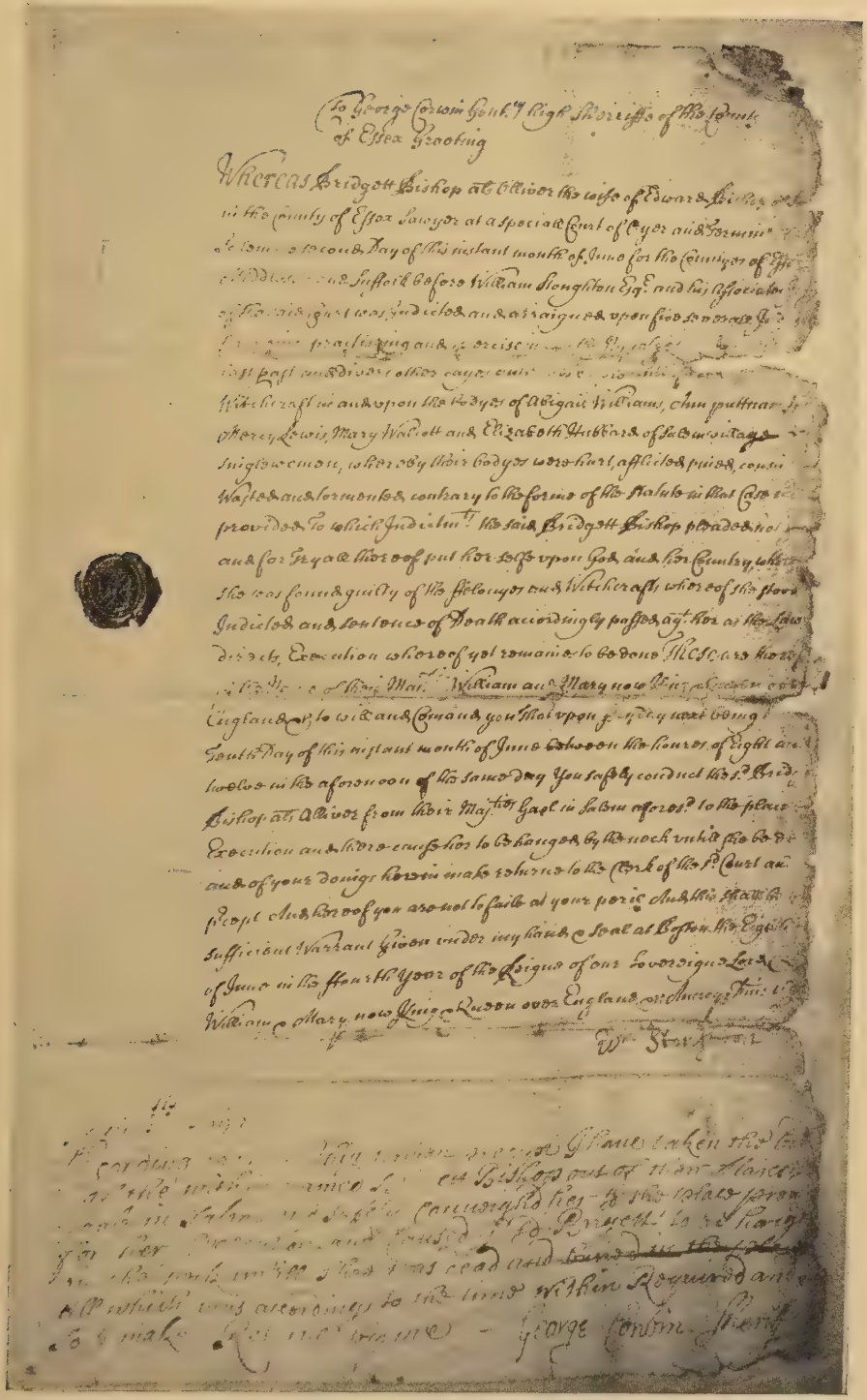
WHEREAS Bridgett Bishop als. Olliver the wife of Edward Bishop of Sa[lem] in the County of Essex Sawyer at a speciall Court of Oyer and Terminer [held at] Salem the second day of this instant month of June for the Countyes of Essex Middlesex and Suffolk before William Stoughton Esqr. and his associates Jus[tices] of the said Court was Indicted and arraigned upon five severall Ind[ictments] for useing practiseing and exerciseing on the Nynet[eenth day of April] last past and divers other dayes and times before and after [certain arts of] Witchcraft in and upon the bodyes of Abigail Williams Ann Puttnam Junr Mercy Lewis, Mary Walcott and Elizabeth Hubbard of Salem village singlewoman, whereby their bodyes were hurt, afflicted, pined, consu[med], wasted and tormented contrary to the formes of the statute in that Case [made and] provided. To which Indictmt. the said Bridgett Bishop pleaded not [guilty] and for Tryall thereof put herselfe upon God and her Country, where[upon] she was found guilty of the Felonyes and Witchcrafts whereof she stood Indicted and sentence of Death accordingly passed agt. her as the Law directs, execution whereof yet remaines to be done. These are theref[ore] in the Name of their Maj'ties William and Mary now King & Queen over England &c. to will and Comand you that upon Fryday next being [the] Tenth Day of this instant month of June between the hours of eight and twelve in the aforenoon of the same day you safely conduct the sd. Bridg[ett] Bishop als. Olliver from their Maj'ties Gaol in Salem aforesd. to the place [of] Execution and there cause her to be hanged by the neck untill she be de[ad] and of your doings herein make returne to the Clerk of the sd. Court and [this] p'cept. And hereof you are not to faile at your peril. And this shall be [your] sufficient warrant. Given under my hand & seal at Boston the Eighth [Day] of June in the Fourth Year of the Reigns of our Sovereign Lord & [Lady] William and Mary now King & Queen over England &c. Annoq. Dom. 1692.

WM. STOUGHTON.

June 10th–1692.

According to the within written precept I have taken the bod[ye] of the within named Bridgett Bishop out of their Majes[ties] Goale in Salem and safely conveighd her to the place prov[ided] for her Execution and caused ye sd. Brigett to be hang[ed] by the neck untill she was dead [*canceled:* and buried in the place] all which was according to the time within Required and so I make returne by me

GEORGE CORWIN *Sheriff.*



ORDER AND CERTIFICATE OF EXECUTION OF BRIDGET BISHOP FOR WITCHCRAFT, IN SALEM, 1692.

a Salem farmer, cured his Indian servant of fits by a course of severe beatings, and vowed that he could cure the whole company of the afflicted by the same means. Edward Bishop and his wife were cast forthwith into prison. A second sister of Rebecca Nurse, Mary Easty of Cropsfield, fell under Parris' displeasure about the same time. She was a woman of great gentleness and beauty of character, and very religious, but nevertheless denied witchcraft as a truth; therefore she was torn from her children, sent to trial, condemned, and executed, with several companions in misery.

1692

Skepticism punished

In May Sir William Phips arrived in Boston, and took the government into his own hands. He organized a special court of Oyer and Terminer to conduct the investigation in Salem. William Stoughton, chief justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, was appointed chief judge; his associates were Samuel Sewall, Wait Winthrop, and Richard Saltonstall. On the 2d of June the court opened. Bridget Bishop, a lone and friendless woman, was the first prisoner to appear. The chief accusation against her was wearing a red petticoat, which was considered the badge of servitude to Satan. Parris, however, had other evidence, declaring that he had been an eye-witness to the torments inflicted by her spectre on Deliverance Hobbs, a neighbor. Mather writes in the record against Bridget, "She gave a look towards the great and spacious meeting-house at Salem, and immediately a dæmon invisible entering the house tore down a part of it." The poor, ignorant,

Phips' special court

Bridget Bishop

1682

Salem witchcraft:

defenseless creature was adjudged a witch according to the rules of English jurists, and though protesting her innocence to the last, was hanged on the 10th of June.

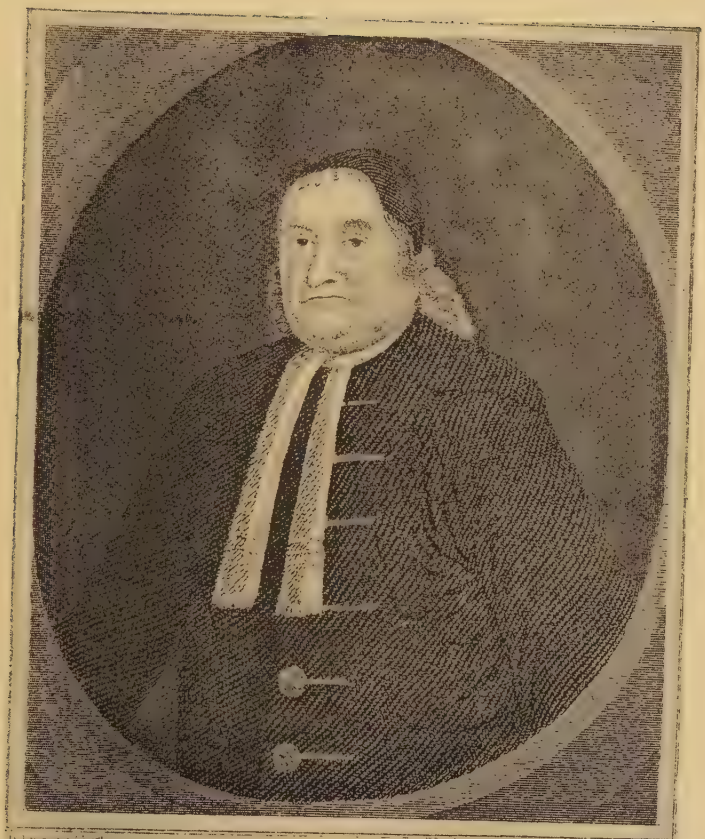
Parris pulls down a rival

Parris, having disposed of the smaller enemies in his path, seems to have decided to rid himself of a rival. George Burroughs, a Harvard graduate, had preached awhile in Salem village, and many friends had desired his settlement over the church. Parris, who obtained the place, cherished a personal animosity for Burroughs, eventually driving him away from Salem. Burroughs retired to Wells, Maine, and settled there. During the height of the witchcraft frenzy, Parris managed to have Burroughs denounced, and an elder and two constables were dispatched to Maine in order to arrest him. Burroughs, scouting so preposterous a charge, made no trouble about accompanying the officers. During the night journey to Salem the party was overtaken by a terrific thunder-storm. At the trial, the constables and the elder swore that Burroughs had brought the storm upon them, and testified to his familiarity with the demons of the tempest.

George Burroughs

Danger of superiority

Report credited Burroughs with extraordinary personal qualities. He was strong, daring, and versed in woodcraft and forestry to an extent generally seen only in Indians. His great muscular strength enabled him to perform feats out of range of the average man; a gift which repeatedly brought charges of witchcraft against men in those times (helping to cost one Hartford man his



The Hon.ble Samuel Sewall Esq.r

life), it being believed that no man unaided by supernatural means could accomplish such tasks. 1692 Perhaps jealousy sometimes reinforced superstition. It seems strange indeed that a man of great courage and intelligence, strong personal magnetism, and a kindly nature, should for these very reasons be condemned to death; but so it was. Death of Burroughs Parris prevailed, and Burroughs went to the scaffold. As he stood there, with his last words he earnestly protested his innocence before the assembled multitude, and ended with a fervent repetition of the Lord's Prayer, speaking the words without a single mistake. At this the people marveled, and were greatly moved by the minister's demeanor in the face of his God.

Indeed, the fear where this slaughter might end began to make people feel that the evidence should be scrutinized more closely. As the trials proceeded, a few persons scattered here and there among the colonists dared to resist the popular opinion. People grow appalled at slaughter Some were clergymen; notably Increase Mather, Willard, and the staunch old Puritan, Moody of Portsmouth. Of the remainder a few were prominent citizens, and these included Thomas Danforth and Thomas Brattle. Several of the justices of the Massachusetts Supreme Court also ventured to murmur against the belief; and one of the judges of the special court, Sir Richard Saltonstall, soon resigned in disgust. Those of the jurists who sat on the bench throughout the trials, after the day of the tragedy had passed, became bowed and broken with mortification.

1692

Salem witchcraft: Sewall's repentance

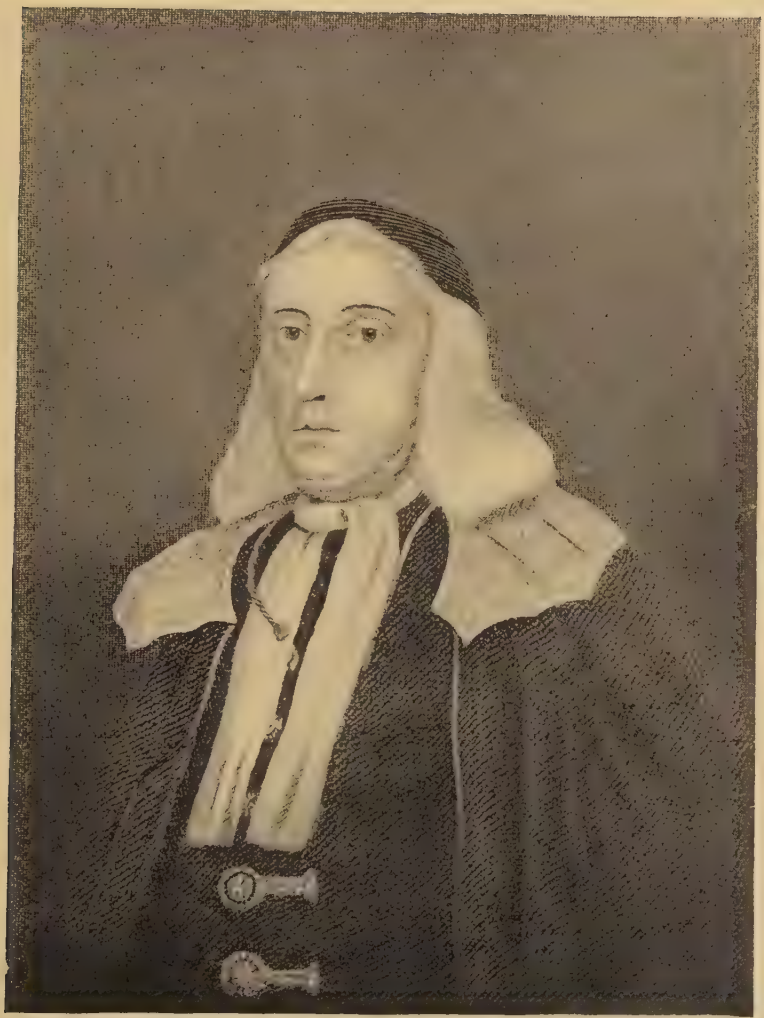
Judge Sewall made a public confession and recantation in the Old South Church before the congregation, and ever afterwards through the remainder of his life he kept annually a day of fasting and mortification.

Stoughton's self-righteousness

The only person concerned in these sad proceedings who never showed sorrow or penitence was the chief justice himself. William Stoughton maintained to the last that he had only done his duty according to his honest belief, and never forgave his colleagues for their backsliding; and when on every hand confessions and recantations were being made by all his associates, and he saw that public opinion would no longer sustain him, he resigned from each of the offices he held and retired into private life, where he died soon after—in a passion of indignation, it is said.

Witch-marks

During this obstinate craze, not only were the infamous tales of the hysterical children accepted without question, but the doctors were called in to make examinations of the prisoners' bodies for witch-marks. Moles of an unusual size were included in these, and they probed all parts of the body in search of any callous spot. Any sign of confusion in the victims, or contradictions in their replies, were sure to receive a fatal interpretation. If they were too astounded to shed tears at the tales preferred against them, it marked them as upheld by Satan's power. If a quarrel had lately taken place between accused and accuser, and had been followed by the death of cattle or any other live-stock, this fact also argued the



JUDGE WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

existence of witchcraft. Another test was the reciting of the Lord's Prayer: should the slightest mistake occur in the repetition, it would fare ill with the prisoner. Exhibitions of unusual strength, wit, or wisdom were evidences of supernatural power. No play of the imagination was too wild to be accepted, despite the contradiction of common-sense.

1692

Witch-marks

At the new session of the court in August 1692, six persons were condemned. John Willard, who as an officer had been employed to make the arrests, became convinced of the hypocrisy of the whole affair, and refused to serve. Immediately he was denounced as in league with the witches, condemned, and executed.

Recalcitrants put to death

In August twelve poor wretches were sentenced to death by the court; in September eight more, men and women, suffered in their turn. One of these last, Samuel Wardwell, made a confession and was reprieved. Overcome by his sense of honesty, and remorse for obtaining safety by falsehood, he retracted his confession, and was promptly hanged, as unrepentant and liable to do more mischief.

And retracters

Witnesses might be detected again and again in perjury and willful misrepresentations, yet their evidence was readily admitted in each new case. Great partiality was shown by the justices in hearing the accusations; for where the victim selected was a friend or partisan of Parris and his coterie, the shaft of suspicion was quickly turned aside. The so-called witches found safety

Parris crowd dominate

1692

only in making full confessions which were accepted as evidence of repentance; and such confessions on their part led to fresh accusations by them and by others. Finally a state of general religious persecution, accompanied with petty revenges of personal spite, supervened. The Anabaptists in particular fell under the wrath of the prosecutors and the instigators of the delusion.

Salem witchcraft: weapon of general revenge

In October 1692, the General Assembly of Massachusetts convened and took action on the disturbances in Salem. The people of Andover presented a special protest to the House of Representatives against the further continuance of the special court. The legislature called a council of the ministers of the colony, and in conjunction with this body, adapted the British statute on witchcraft to the conditions of the province; also the special court was abrogated, and a new tribunal instituted in its stead, to be convened in the following January. During the brief interval thus provided, the public mind had time to become more tranquil; and by the opening session of the new court the whirl of excitement had begun to subside. The accused who had made confessions to save their necks during August and September now retracted all which they had confessed; and the more skeptical were able to scoff at witchcraft and the bewitched with impunity. All of the twenty-six accused now brought before the new court, and who were tried by the same precedents which had heretofore sent many to the gallows, were acquitted.

Special court abolished

Reaction begins

A last desperate attempt to secure a verdict of guilty was made by the Parris party in February 1693. Sarah Daston, eighty years of age, who had for twenty years enjoyed the reputation of being a witch, was brought to trial at Charlestown; but the reaction against the late madness had now so far set in as to sweep the tide of public opinion to the other extreme, and Sarah was triumphantly acquitted.

1693

Parris' last fight

By May 1693 the children, who had thus far been passive in the hands of Parris, slipped from under all control, and began to denounce right and left among persons of both high and low degree, hesitating not to implicate those of standing and importance. The common mind fell back amazed before the audacity of the children. Mrs. Hale, wife of a Beverly clergyman, was mentioned by them; but she was one whose name and standing were far too high to be scorched by the breath of suspicion. At last the wife of the Governor himself, and relatives of Increase Mather, who had been one of the few clergymen to resist the sway of the superstition, were pointed out by the deluded children, now well-nigh swept out of the harbor of sanity on the waves of public madness. Aroused at last to the alarming proportions which the delusion had attained, Sir William Phips took active measures to end the business.

The children fly at high game

Public alarmed into sense

At this time one hundred and fifty prisoners were held in confinement, some awaiting trial, and others who had been acquitted but were unable to pay their board and jail fees and court fees.

1693

End of Salem horrors

The immediate release of all was ordered by the Governor, and this was the practical end of the great Salem tragedy. During the height of the superstitious delirium, twenty persons innocent of any evil-doing had suffered death, and two dogs had been solemnly hanged as witches' familiars. Several unfortunates had died in jail, while others had made their escape from prison and from the country by the help of friends. Many of the accused who had confessed did so to gain their safety, not hesitating to perjure their souls to save their bodies. But it would seem that others had made their confessions in the belief of the power of Satan, and from the suspicion that their sufferings and singular sensations *might* indeed have been due to witchcraft.

Victims also believers

Parris driven out

In the violent reaction of public opinion, it went hard with those who had led the prosecution. Samuel Parris was cast out of his pastorate and hounded from the place. Noyes, another Salem minister who had joined forces with Parris, only escaped a like fate by making a public confession and an avowal of penitence and shame, consecrating his future days to deeds of mercy and atonement. Judge Sewell followed a like course in Boston.

Cotton Mather's mental conflict

Cotton Mather, though outwardly giving no sign of an inward conflict with his soul, records his mental distress in his diary, by remarking that "he had temptation to atheism and to the abandonment of all religion as a mere delusion." Having lost faith in the Devil, he was evidently

tempted to lose his faith in God. To the public, however, he turned an impassive countenance, and offered only a vindication of the part played by himself in the recent tragedy at Salem. He returned thanks for the large number of accursed witches who had been brought to justice. He said in a published sermon that not only he, but all the ministers of God's words in every country of the earth, agreed in the belief in witchcraft; and that not until some future day, when all people were more surely defended from the onsets of Satan, would the troubles which had so recently befallen Salem be thoroughly understood and comprehended.

1693

Cotton Mather commits himself to the future

It is interesting to note that during this entire excitement the dwellers of New Hampshire refused to partake in the delusion. The settlements along the banks of the Piscataqua became a refuge of those who fled from Massachusetts to escape the storm. There were one or two cases of agitation, wherein some credulous busybody tried to arouse suspicion against some eccentric character of the neighborhood; but the accused always followed such denunciation with prompt action for defamation of character, and the matter was harmlessly disposed of in the local courts. This condition may have arisen from the fact that the early settlers of New Hampshire, and especially of Portsmouth, were in the main members of the Church of England; and while the members of that church in the mother country were greater witch-hunters than the Puritans, not in spasms

New Hampshire immune

1693 but century-long, this particular case of hysteria had risen from sources affecting specially the Puritan nerves.

Witchcraft excitement subsides

Gradually, as the waves of morbid excitement subsided, the society of New England regained its normal level. The majority awoke from their folly, and returned to the practical interests of life.

Even at the time when the frenzy in Salem was at its greatest pitch, the business of the colony was steadily carried forward by a few tranquil minds at the helm in Boston. 1692

The first body of Representatives convening under the new government were alive to the great responsibilities upon their shoulders. Some of their first acts provided that "the rights and liberties of the people shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed"; that "no aid, taxes, tallage, assessment, custom, loan, benevolence, or imposition whatsoever shall be laid, but by the act and consent of the governor, council, and representatives of the people assembled in General Court"; also that "all trials shall be by the verdict of twelve men, peers or equals, and of the neighborhood and in the country or shire where the fact shall arise." In these days we have almost forgotten to how late a period the fight to maintain universal jury trial came down. First legislature under new charter

During the same session the old provisions for the administration of township affairs were reinforced and perpetuated. The old and well-tried system of town meetings was approved and continued. All the settlements in the province

1692–3 received recognition as independent and separate bodies. The towns were granted freedom from supervision, the right to elect all their own officers annually and issue calls for town meetings at their own pleasure; to discuss and decide all questions pertaining to the interest of the township; to administer the finances of the community and vote appropriations and expenditures for the benefit of the dwellers therein.

First legislature under new charter

In another most important matter the Assembly took advantage of the prerogatives conceded to it to assert its power. The salaries of all public officials, including the chief executive, were to be determined by the Representatives. Elisha Cooke—one of the chief advocates of popular liberties, and the late mediator between the colony and the King—was quick to see the opportunity of control over the royal officers thus placed in the hands of the people; and he introduced a bill, which was passed, to make annual allowances instead of a fixed compensation. Thus were the governor and his chief assistants dependent upon the will of the people for their compensation. Sir William Phips protested against such a provision. He declared that "no salary was allowed or was intended" by the colonists, and to the King he made an appeal for royal interference.

Official salaries made annual

Meanwhile the Governor had become embroiled with several men of importance, both in Boston and New York. He was a physically powerful man with strong fists, and was inclined to enforce his own orders instead of turning them over to

the sheriff. Having a dispute with the collector sent from England to preside over the port of Boston, he undertook to bring him to his own way of thinking by personal chastisement. He was blessed with a hasty temper, which led him oftentimes into the most undignified encounters. Unfavorable accounts of his administration at length reached the ears of the King, and Sir William was commanded to appear in London and speak in his own behalf.

1692–4

Phips called to England on charges

Friends of the Governor exerted themselves to secure him a lenient consideration. The House of Representatives, heretofore controlled by the Boston members, was thrown into the hands of the country towns, by a provision that hereafter all Representatives must be residents of the township returning them. By this new appointment and appeal to local pride, a petition in Phips' favor was forced through the House, and he was able to carry it with him to London; but he was stricken with a malignant fever, and died on February 8, 1694, before the charges could be investigated. Despite his hot temper and erratic character he had been generally liked, and the news of his death was received with sorrow.

Death of Phips

During Phips' absence in England, Chief Justice Stoughton served as deputy-governor, and remained such for four years or more. The home government was embroiled in a war with France; the attention of the ministers was absorbed in providing money for it (which resulted in establishing the Bank of England), and selecting a

Stoughton deputy-governor

1693–7 governor for New England could wait best of all things. Stoughton's administration was disturbed by extreme local opposition and violent party spirit. In these years also New England was called upon to defend herself anew from the French and Indians all along the northern frontiers, a natural sequence of the war between the two mother countries. The descent of the foe upon the English settlements at this time was directed more particularly into New Hampshire and Maine. One expedition, however, reached as far south into Massachusetts as Haverhill on the Merrimac. The savages fell upon the sleeping city, taking but few prisoners, and murdering great numbers in cold blood (March 16, 1697).

French and Indians raid northern settlements

A dramatic incident marks this expedition. Among the few prisoners carried off was a woman named Hannah Dustin, who, with her baby a few days old, a boy, and one other woman, was borne away to the Indian camp near Concord, New Hampshire, on an island in the Merrimac. The captives were obliged to walk all the weary way. When the mother grew tired and the infant wailed, the nearest savage caught the child from her bosom and dashed its brains out against a tree. When all were sleeping the night after arrival,—the savages not dreaming that their helpless captives would dare attempt an escape,—Mrs. Dustin disclosed her desperate plans to her companions, who acceded. With the guards' tomahawks they crushed their skulls and escaped into the night; then dropped down the river in one of the Indian

Hannah Dustin

canoes, until they came to Haverhill again. The whole colony soon rang with the heroic exploit. 1697-9

Hostilities continued until the 9th of December, 1697, when Captain Gillam landed at Marblehead, bringing news of the cessation of the war, settled by the treaty of Ryswick in September. Though it was celebrated by beat of drum and blare of trumpets, and the reading of the proclamation of peace in the streets of Boston, the good folk of the colony found no cause for congratulation. The terms of peace bore heavily upon the resources of New England. All captured lands and forts were to be restored; but no boundaries were defined, and a large section bordering Canada on the one side and Maine and New Hampshire on the other was left a disputed territory. The French still claimed the ground; and the British authorities urged Massachusetts to occupy the country immediately, and erect forts at all points of vantage to maintain English supremacy.

Peace of Ryswick: colonies again sacrificed

Meanwhile Sir Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, had been appointed governor of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and New Hampshire. His Lordship arrived in New York on the 2d of April, 1698, and maintained his headquarters there for a little over a year. Stoughton, however, still acted as lieutenant-governor in Boston, under his instructions.

Bellomont governor of North

In May 1699 the new governor made his entry into Boston, and was welcomed with cordiality. During his brief administration, no act of his alienated the sympathy of the colonists. Indeed,

1699–1700

he soon manifested his sympathy for the popular party, of which Elisha Cooke was the leader; and thenceforward the influence of the Mathers steadily waned. Cooke's party had been that of opposition during Phips' career, and the irascible Governor had threatened him with a denial of his election to the Assembly; but the matter did not arise for action until after Phips' recall, and Cooke took his seat at the Council board.

Bellomont favors popular party

The Earl was so well liked by the citizens of New England, that although on principle they refused to vote him any regular salary, they voted him a liberal appropriation of £1000 sterling during his first year. This grant he accepted with sufficient grace, and made no complaint on this head to the King.

Wins New England favor

At this period Boston contained a population of about 7000. The trade of the colony was constantly increasing, and Bellomont's reports to the Lords of Trade give accurate figures of the town's business. He makes complaint, however, that "the people have such an appetite for piracy and unlawful trade that they are ready to rebel as often as the government puts the law in execution against them." Especially did he complain of Rhode Island, as did every other governor of the Revolution. Its ample bays and harbors were ideally situated for smuggling, and the temptation to avoid the customs duty of New York and Boston enriched Rhode Island with a swarm of craft from every quarter. This indeed was the very life-blood of the colony.

But thinks Boston rebellious, Rhode Island piratical

After a stay of something over a year in Boston, Bellomont returned to New York. Not long after he reached there his death occurred, March 5, 1701. When the news reached Boston, Stoughton again assumed the duties of acting governor; but his second term had lasted only four months, when on July 7, 1701, he died in his seventieth year. During the interval between his death and the coming of the new governor, the Council discharged the duties of administration.

1700–2

Rapid changes of official headship

In 1702 Joseph Dudley—the former president, chief justice, and partisan of Andros—was appointed captain-general and governor of Massachusetts. His appointment—made just before William's death, but confirmed by Anne—was secured through the influence of Cotton Mather, who was pleased with the idea that Dudley had successfully played the rôle of Puritan during his late residence in England, and while filling the office of deputy-governor of the Isle of Wight; moreover, the memory of his father Thomas Dudley added much to the reputation of the son. But his subsequent career showed that he had acted a double part, and not only did he soon lose the confidence of Mather, but the latter became one of his bitterest opponents.

Joseph Dudley governor

Dudley sailed for America with high hopes of satisfying his ambition, and enriching himself with the emoluments and opportunities of office. An American, and a Harvard graduate, his long residence in England and his associations there had made him thoroughly English in feeling. He soon

1702-15

stretched the doctrine of submission to royal and ministerial authority to the utmost limit, and thereby gained the universal local dislike. Scarcely had he seated himself in the executive chair when he disapproved the election of five members of the Council; and further demanded that the Assembly should vote permanent salaries to the governor, his deputies, and the Crown judges. The Assembly declined with equal promptitude to make the grants, and by way of retaliation voted him only about half the annual allowance paid to Bellomont. A bitter fight at once set in between him and the Assembly, which lasted throughout his long administration, extending from 1702 to 1715. He was exceedingly stubborn, and it did not take him long to discover that the Massachusetts Puritans were composed of similar material. He declared his hostility to all charters, and endeavored to bring the colonies into absolute subjection to the Crown.[1]

Dudley's acrid royalism

[1] His son Paul, writing to friends in England about this time, said: "This country will never be worth living in for lawyers and gentlemen till the charter is taken away. My father and I sometimes talk of the Queen's establishing a court of chancery here." The young man possessed some ability; but his disposition had suffered by residence and unfortunate associations in England. He was more English than American, and held lofty notions about the royal prerogative. He was a graduate of Harvard, but had studied law at the Temple in London. In 1702, when his father secured the appointment of governor, Queen Anne honored the son by making him attorney-general of Massachusetts, a position which he continued to hold until 1718, when he was promoted to the bench. The trend of his character is shown in a bequest of £100 which he made to Harvard for the support of an annual lecture to be delivered on four subjects in succession: 1. Natural Religion; 2. The Christian Religion; 3. The Errors of the Roman Catholic Church; and, 4. To explain and maintain the validity of the ordination of ministers according to the ancient custom of England.

As soon as his policy became manifest, Cotton Mather organized an opposition party among the leading ministers, and kept it alive throughout the Governor's administration. But the latter formed a party of his own, and held it together with the adhesive substance of public emolument. In this way a balance was struck between Puritan determination and official stubbornness, and the result was a general stoppage in the progress of affairs. During the war with France, Dudley and his party were accused of sharing largely in public contracts and illicit trade. It was an official custom, which in colonial times was carried to an extent that would amaze even the modern politician of plastic virtue. Colonial officials were responsible, not to the people they governed, but to the distant and unfriendly power called the Crown, between which and the people there was a ceaseless friction.

1702–15

Dudley and Cotton Mather at deadlock

Dudley and "divvies"

During the second year of Dudley's administration occurred the massacre of Deerfield, Massachusetts—the second in that locality, for Bloody Brook (remember 1675) is only one mile distant. During the twenty-nine years since, a thriving settlement had sprung up. It was west of the Connecticut, and exposed to Indian raids in case of war, which quickly followed King William's death. The Indians, excited by French emissaries, wreaked their savage vengeance on the people

Deerfield massacre of 1704

Like his father, he was sincerely devoted to British interests, and lived long enough to see the approach of the inevitable conflict between the colonies and the mother country, dying in 1751.

of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, with the
1704 same revolting cruelties as of old.

The village of Deerfield contained about two hundred inhabitants; as they had a good fort and were well armed, they felt no special apprehension of danger. The women and children remained closely within the fort, while sentries were posted night and day at all the avenues of approach. No precaution was neglected. The people felt that a surprise would be impossible.

In the spring of 1704 a party of 200 French and 142 Indians came down the Connecticut Valley from Canada, to fall upon the unsuspecting settlement. So well did they conceal their approach
Second Deerfield massacre
that the inhabitants received not the least intimation of their coming. They reached the immediate vicinity of the fort early in the morning of February 29, and hid in the woods to await the change of guards which they knew would take place at daylight. Strangely enough, the sentinels who had been on duty during the night retired within the fort before the relief guards came out; and the enemy availed themselves of this interval to rush upon and capture the place before the sleeping inhabitants could awake and arm. Among the relics of those early times there is still preserved at Deerfield the massive oaken door of the old fort or block-house, battered by blows from Indian tomahawks and pierced by Indian bullets.

Thirty-six were killed in the first onslaught, and one hundred and eight carried away prisoners. They were loaded with their own spoils, and forced

to march through the forests and the snow at the same pace as their unburdened captors. If any gave out or fell behind, they were immediately dispatched with a tomahawk. Thirteen were thus slain on the march, while a number of others, falling down from exhaustion or overcome by exposure to the cold, were allowed to die without attention.

1704

Cruelties after Deerfield massacre

Soon after the Deerfield massacre, Governor Dudley made an effort to secure peace with the tribes in Maine, and arranged for a meeting with their sachems at Casco; but the French advised the Indians to make a pretense of friendship, and detain the governor until they (the French) could send a party of soldiers to capture him. The scheme was faithfully carried out on the part of the savages. They met the governor according to appointment, presented him with a belt of wampum as a token of their sincere friendship, and assured him that they had not the remotest idea of lifting the tomahawk against the English. As an evidence of mutual esteem, they agreed to mark their place of meeting with two cairns of stones, and all joined in carrying the stones and heaping them together on the pile. This was merely a trick to detain the governor and his party until the arrival of the French; but the soldiers did not come in time, so that the governor and his party escaped the trap so cunningly set for them.

French and Indian perfidy

Fails

Within less than six weeks from this pretense of a friendly conference, the tribes that had taken

1704–13

part in it made a furious attack on the settlements in the Kennebec Valley. A strong relief party was immediately hurried to the locality, consisting of more than five hundred men commanded by the famous Colonel Benjamin Church, whose published accounts of these events form a rich store of historical information. It destroyed several villages, and killed a few French and Indian stragglers; but the campaign was relatively barren of results, the main part of the enemy's forces having fled. The Indians retaliated during the winter and the following year (1705) by attacking many of the principal frontier towns in Maine, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.

Church relieves Kennebec settlements

In 1710 Acadia was definitely taken by the English. In September six men-of-war and about thirty transports sailed from Boston, with five regiments of troops on board. Five of the war vessels belonged to the British navy, and were classed among the best of that period. One of the regiments was composed of English mariners. This was the most powerful and effective force that had been sent against the French in America up to that date. The expedition was commanded by Sir Francis Nicholson of New York, and each of the New England colonies furnished its quota. The attack was made on Port Royal, which surrendered almost without opposition; whereupon the whole province once more came under English control, and was ceded to that country by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, becoming "Nova Scotia" for good. For years afterwards, however,

Final capture of Nova Scotia

it was neglected by the English, while the French population increased and French influences predominated. 1721

In the spring of 1721, Boston was visited for the fifth time by an epidemic of small-pox, the scourge of the city. In the present instance nearly six thousand persons were attacked, of whom about nine hundred died. The visitation was the most calamitous that had yet befallen the town. Vaccination was unknown until 1792; but Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's experience with inoculation, which she had practiced at Belgrade in Servia three years before, had become known in America, and the system was applied successfully by Dr. Zabdiel Boylston in the present epidemic. He first inoculated his son and two of his servants, each of whom recovered after a slight illness. All the other physicians of Boston opposed the plan, and stirred up a violent opposition to Dr. Boylston. Through their influence the selectmen were induced to pass an ordinance forbidding inoculation; but Boylston was sustained by the Mathers and most of the other clergymen of the city, religious conservatism in this case falling below scientific. Backed by their influence, he persisted in spite of the ordinance and the opposition of the bigoted populace. Out of two hundred and eighty-six persons inoculated at this time, only six died. Such astonishing results could not be otherwise than convincing; and the practice soon became common throughout the colonies, whence it extended into England. When in 1725 Dr. Boylston

Boston's small-pox epidemic

Fought by doctors, but backed by clergy

Wins

1715–21

visited that country, he was honored by being made a fellow of the Royal Society.[1]

Cotton Mather and inoculation

At the beginning of the experiment, Cotton Mather assumed so bold a stand in favor of the system that he aroused an intense animosity among the people, many of whom still remembered his activity in the witchcraft prosecutions. His house was assaulted and an attempt made on his life. Increase Mather, then in his eighty-third year, came to the rescue of his son, and published a tract favoring the system.

After the retirement of Governor Dudley in 1715, George I., who had succeeded Queen Anne the previous year, appointed Colonel Elisha Burgess governor. Little is known of this officer, and he cared so little for the office that he never stirred to occupy it, and offered to sell the commission for £1000. Thereupon the agents and friends of Massachusetts raised the amount by subscription and applied it to that purpose. The office thus became vacant again, and remained so until the following year, when Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Shute was commissioned to fill it. Its duties meanwhile had devolved upon Lieutenant-Governor Tailer. Governor Shute had served under the Prince of Orange, and afterward under Marlborough, and won distinction as a soldier. He was honest and well-meaning, but extremely obstinate, and intensely devoted to the King's interest.

Royal governors under George I.

[1] His niece was the mother of President John Adams; much of the self-centred independence of that vigorous stock probably came through this source.

Upon his arrival he sided with one of the local political parties, and soon after became involved in a heated controversy with the citizens over the old question of prerogative.

1715-28

Governor Shute

The timber dispute was a matter of importance to the colonists. Some of the finest ship-timbers in the world stood in the forests of Maine. There was scarcely an acre that did not bear a royal pine fit for the mainmast of the proudest frigate that sailed the seas. These extensive forests, so easy of access by numerous rivers, bays, and inlets, relieved England from her dependence on Norway for the masts and spars of her men-of-war; and the King did not hesitate to send men into the forests to mark whatever trees he wanted for the royal navy. More than this, he sent commissioners with axes throughout the accessible forests, who marked the finest trees with an arrow; and no man was allowed to cut one of those trees so marked. It is said that some of these ancient giants of the Maine forests are still standing, with the dim imprint of the royal arrow on their sides.

Trees reserved for royal navy

These things moved the farmers of Maine and Massachusetts to righteous anger. If the King wanted their trees for masts to his ships, or their tar and pitch wherewith to caulk them, let him pay for them like an honest man. The timber disputes brought on a number of small conflicts and riots; for the farmers cut down and sold the trees with arrows on them whenever the opportunity came. The royal government had all the opprobrium of the monopoly and none of the profit.

Maine men disregard it

1716–27

At one time during Governor Shute's administration, specie became so scarce in New Hampshire that the Assembly passed an act authorizing the payment of taxes in tar. A barrel of tar was rated at twenty shillings, and the colonists experienced some satisfaction in being able to pay the King in his own currency—for it is more than probable that some of the trees that bore arrows supplied the tar wherewith the King's revenue was satisfied.

Taxes and tar

Toward the latter part of Shute's term, the quarrel between him and the colonists became so warm that the Assembly virtually ignored his authority, by instructing the commanders of the colonial troops in Indian service to report to the General Court instead of the governor. This verged close upon rebellion, and Shute went to England in 1723 to lay his complaint before the King. The inhabitants, said the governor, possessed an aptitude "to be mutinous," while the country representatives were making "continual encroachments on the few prerogatives left to the Crown." He even asserted that the colonists were planning to become independent of the mother kingdom, and advised repressive measures.

Massachusetts ignores Shute

It is possible that the contest with the colonies would have taken place under George the First instead of the Third, had not the King suddenly died in his carriage on June 10, 1727. Shute had been on the point of returning to America, with additional concessions of power that would unquestionably have precipitated a crisis; but the

Death of George I.

King's death put a new face on affairs. An open and bitter enmity had long existed between the new king, George II., and his late father. The friends and favorites of the dead George were consequently not the friends and favorites of the living one. The latter had associates of his own who must be provided for; but Shute had his commission as governor, and something had to be done to get rid of him. He was accordingly pensioned, and William Burnet was transferred from the executive chair of New York to that of Massachusetts.

1723–30

Shute replaced by Burnet

This took place in 1728; and during the five years previous the government of the colony had been administered, with much satisfaction to the inhabitants, by Lieutenant-Governor William Dummer. This gentleman was a native of Boston, a man of broad views, and in hearty sympathy with the people. He had conducted the Indian war with great skill, and was highly respected for energy and public spirit. After the death of Governor Burnet he again served as commander-in-chief; but from 1730 until his death in 1761, he lived in retirement. The first settlement and fort in Vermont were established by Dummer, and bore his name.

William Dummer

Eastward of Lake Champlain and the Hudson, and extending northward to the St. Lawrence and eastward to the ocean, lay the country of the Algonquin Abenakis. Being in close contact with the French, they were early converted to Catholicism by the missionaries of that nation; but their

The Abenaki Indians

religion did not tame their ferocity. They remained in alliance with the French and fought the English colonists almost continuously, until after Canada became a part of the British dominions. When the Revolution broke out, their old sympathy for the French led them to espouse the cause of the Americans, and they performed some gallant service in the Continental army under their chief Orono. There are still some remnants of these Indians both in Maine and the province of Quebec.

The Abenaki Indians

By the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Acadia, "with its ancient boundaries," was ceded to England. As was too often the case, the indefinite terms of the treaty left a way for future disputes. Foreseeing trouble, within three years the jurisdiction of Massachusetts was extended to the utmost limits, which of course embraced the whole of Maine. It not only rebuilt the villages destroyed during the war, but established others on the eastern bank of the Kennebec, and laid the foundations for extensive settlements there.

Acadia after treaty of Utrecht

These intrusions alarmed and irritated the Abenakis, and their principal chief hurried off to Canada to consult the French commandant. The talented Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis of Vaudreuil, was then governor-general of the French colonies, and was loved and trusted by the Indians. He shrewdly observed to the red chief that the treaty did not refer to the country claimed by his people. Vaudreuil knew that the treaty was intended to cede this territory to England, and

Abenakis appeal to Vaudreuil

was so understood by the participants; he was glad to embroil the Indians in a war against the English colonists. He declared that while France could not maintain an open alliance, he would assist the red men in every way within his power; and intimated that the advice of the French missionaries would always be at their service. 1716-24 Vaudreuil eggs on Abenakis

This was enough. The chief understood the situation perfectly. He knew that if his people were beaten, they would find refuge and comfort beyond the Canadian line. "I have my land," he exclaimed, "where the Great Spirit placed me and my people; and while there remains one of my tribe alive, we shall fight to preserve it." This was his declaration of hostilities; and no sooner had he returned to his tribe than the hatchet was unburied, and red war was once more sent flaming through the land. Bands of painted warriors once more crept along the outskirts of the English settlements, and fell with savage fury upon every exposed habitation or unprotected settlement. Who assail northern settlements

The natural ferocity of this savage warfare was embittered by religious hate; and yet the innocent cause of it was a man whose nature and whole life were devoted to the doing of good deeds. This was Father Sebastian Rasle, a French Jesuit priest, who for thirty-seven years lived among the savages and taught them, so far as they were capable of understanding it, the self-sacrificing spirit of Christianity. About 1695 he had established himself at a place on the north bank of the Kennebec, deep in the pine forests of Maine, where Father Rasle

1695–1724

Rasle builds Norridgewock, Me.

he built a wigwam with his own hands and named the place Norridgewock. Whatever his industry produced above his limited needs, he distributed freely among the Indian families who soon gathered about him. For the sake of economy he adopted their dress, and to draw them closer to him he made their language and customs his own. He took an active part in all their feasts and festivals, gathered healing herbs for the sick, and pointed out the way to heaven to those who were dying.

Mission among Abenakis

He labored earnestly and without ceasing for the good of these simple-minded people of the forest. The children followed him in romping groups wherever he went. He taught them to read, and thrilled their little savage souls with stories of war and adventure in his own country. He was an artist; he painted wonderful pictures of themselves and the familiar scenery of their native land; and also of the Virgin and the saints, the crucifixion and the ascension; and these were hung on the walls of the church which his own industry, aided by such efforts as the savages could render, had enabled him to build. Half of the Abenaki nation became converts to the Roman faith, as they understood it from his teachings; and he was careful not to lift his doctrines above their comprehension. It could hardly be expected that they would become saints, but he certainly did modify their bloodthirsty natures and instill some of the elements of human kindness into their dispositions.

Two rude chapels, with altars, were erected in the woods near the village, and before these each hunter stopped to implore the divine favor on his efforts; and when he returned laden with the trophies of the forest and stream, he did not neglect to humbly return thanks for the assistance which he devoutly believed Providence had rendered him. Their savage natures impelled them also to seek similar favors for their war parties, and to devoutly express gratitude for the scalps and prisoners that fell to their lot. During the hunting and fishing seasons, when the whole tribe migrated to their favorite resorts, Father Rasle accompanied them, and in some quiet woodland nook or on some secluded islet he erected a temporary chapel of bark and poles for their service, in order that they might not fall away from the influence of his religious teachings. Their faith was a mixture of savage superstitions and the elementary principles of the Catholic Church; but it made them better men and women, and left an influence that transformed future generations into civilized and gentle-minded beings.

1695–1717

Rasle teaches worship to Indians

The Puritans looked upon these efforts of the Catholic father with a jealous eye. They regarded the spread of Catholicism among the Indians with natural apprehension; for they knew it would bind the savages closer to the French interests, and make them all the more implacable in their hatred of the Protestant English. It was introducing the element of religious animosity, in fact, into the ordinary malevolence of savage warfare.

Puritans note its political results

1717

Puritan mission to Abenakis

To counteract this influence, the government of Massachusetts in 1717 attempted to establish a mission of its own, in opposition to the one already in such a flourishing state under the fostering care of the Catholic father.

Bad judgment of missionary

But they were unfortunate in the minister selected for this work. He was a Puritan of the straitest sect; sour and morose in disposition, unbending in his doctrinal beliefs, and rigid in adherence to the formalities of his faith. He was the opposite in all respects of Father Rasle, and his presence intensified the ill-feeling that the Abenakis already harbored for the English. The Puritan missionary made a mockery of purgatory, of the invocation of saints, the cross, and the rosary. He reviled and ridiculed the very things that the Indians held sacred; and his austere disposition contrasted so vividly with the gentle kindness of Father Rasle, that his presence became a source of irritation to the people whom he would gladly have converted. "My Christians," said Rasle, "believe the truth of the Catholic faith; but they are not skilled disputants." He had no need to defend his faith to them. The personal contrast was so glaring that the savages had no trouble in deciding to their own satisfaction the merits of the opposing doctrines.

Rasle's easy rivalry

Rasle sincerely believed that the Indians were greatly wronged by the encroachments of the whites upon their territory, and he fostered the spirit of resistance in their breasts. He could now appeal to the double motive of patriotism and

religion; and despite the instinctive gentleness of his disposition, he became the most potent and dangerous agent in opposition to the colonies. He carried on a secret correspondence with Vaudreuil, urging him to aid the Indians in driving the English from their territory; and by the same means the French governor-general was kept fully informed of everything that was done or contemplated in that field.

1717–21

Rasle intrigues with Vaudreuil

While these matters were in progress, the Massachusetts authorities made the mistake of enticing some of the principal chiefs of the Abenakis into their power, and by stratagem gaining possession of their persons. They were then retained as hostages for the good behavior of their people. When the Abenakis sent ambassadors to Boston to demand the release of their chiefs, they were told that they must pay a ransom; and when this requirement had been complied with, the chiefs were not set free.

Chiefs seized as hostages by Massachusetts

This was certainly no worse than the Abenakis' attempt to murder the Massachusetts peace envoys; but it was beneath the Puritans, and they paid dear for it. After many delays and fruitless efforts on the part of the Indians to secure justice, they at length notified the colonists in 1721 that their territory must be evacuated and the hostages delivered up, or they would appeal to arms. The sole English reply was to send a secret expedition to the Kennebec, which took forcible possession of another distinguished hostage, the young Baron Joseph de Saint-Castin. He was detained in

Also Baron Saint-Castin

Boston five months, then released and permitted to return to his people, burning with haughty indignation over the insult inflicted upon him.

Saint-Castin released

Saint-Castin was a half-breed, in whose veins the hot blood of the old French aristocracy mingled with that of the noblest savage royalty. His father, Baron Jean Vincent de l'Abadie Saint-Castin, had first come to America as an ensign in the expedition of De Courcelles in 1666; and when his regiment was disbanded, he chose to remain in the wilds of the New World. He learned the language and assumed the costume of the Indians, and for many years roamed the forests of Maine and Acadia with his adopted countrymen. He acquired a fortune of nearly half a million dollars trading in beaver skins, and at length married a daughter of Madockawando, chief of the Penobscots, who became the mother of the young Baron Joseph. The elder Saint-Castin was an inveterate enemy of the English, and waged incessant war on their trading-posts and border settlements. It was by means of his activity that the French succeeded in extending their influence over nearly the whole of Maine. He was finally killed in battle in Acadia, in 1712; and his son inherited his title, his fortune, and his hatred of the English, intensified by the savage animosity of his mother's race. Joseph Saint-Castin now trod the footsteps of his father, and once more set the border aflame with Indian warfare.

His father's career and his own birth

Meanwhile Father Rasle's colony at Norridgewock had grown amazingly, and his influence over

the Indians had enlarged in a corresponding degree. For years the colonists had suspected the intrigue which had been going on between him and Vaudreuil, and they at length sent a demand to the Indians to surrender the priest to them as a hostage. The red men refused to listen to such a proposition; whereupon the English endeavored to entice Rasle to Boston under pretense of friendly negotiations. Their purpose was transparent, and he declined to be ensnared into the net they set for him. A strong party was then dispatched secretly to Norridgewock, under command of Colonel Thomas Westbrook, with orders to seize the priest and bring him to Boston. The expedition was so adroitly handled that the men reached their destination before the alarm of the Indians was excited; but Rasle had been warned in time to gain safety in flight. The English burned his church and his cabin, and in the latter they found a strong box containing his incriminating correspondence with the French governor-general. But the most valuable part of the contents of the box was a manuscript dictionary of the Abenaki language, still preserved in the library at Harvard College.

1721-2

Rasle's surrender demanded

Attempt to capture him

Incriminating papers found

The Indians now resolved on a vigorous war. There is every reason to believe that Rasle encouraged these movements and stimulated the Indians in their preparations; for he had long since declared that they would never recover their rights by peaceable measures. At the same time he clearly perceived that without the aid of the

Rasle urges on war

1722–3

French the Indians could not succeed. He therefore advised his flock to remove their families to Canada and establish them in places of safety, before the fury of the storm broke upon them. Many acted upon his advice, and returned to join their countrymen in the impending conflict. They urged the aged father to fly also and save himself; but he replied with noble dignity, "I count not my life dear unto myself, so I may finish with joy the ministry which I have received."

Rasle arranges war preparations

In midsummer of 1722 the Massachusetts Assembly, by resolution, declared the Abenakis to be robbers and traitors, and offered a bounty of £15 paper money for each Indian scalp. Two expeditions were sent to capture Father Rasle and destroy his influence among the savages. The first was known as the Penobscot expedition, and was commanded by Colonel Westbrook. For the purpose of heading off Rasle and preventing his flight into French territory, Westbrook led his party up the Penobscot, far to the eastward of Norridgewock, intending at the proper time to turn westward and fall upon the Indian settlement from the rear. This was the first part of March 1723. At the end of five days' marching they came to a settlement at Old Town, above the present site of Bangor, just as the shades of night were settling down in the evening of March 9.

Westbrook tries to outflank Rasle

Old Town

The Indians had not expected an attack from that quarter, and were unprepared to resist it. The village consisted of twenty-three houses, built of logs, and inclosed by a strong palisade fourteen

feet high, with the upper ends of the logs sharpened to prevent scaling. This village and its protecting stockade covered a space seventy yards long and fifty in breadth. Evidences of Father Rasle's intelligent planning were manifest here as well as at Norridgewock. Outside of the stockade stood a large and well-furnished chapel, 30x60 feet in size; and near it the "friar's house," plainly supplied with rude furniture of his own contriving. These were set on fire and consumed. A vigorous attack was made on the stockade and village at the same time, and they also were soon in flames. When morning came, nothing remained of the settlement except ashes and embers of the ruined buildings.

1723–4

Indian fort at Old Town burned

The Indians were now so aroused that this expedition failed of its principal object. The war, however, went on in the usual course of such contests, until August 1724, when another expedition of more than two hundred men was sent against Norridgewock. Reliable information had been received that but few of the warriors were at home, and it was believed that this would be a favorable time for the master-stroke of the campaign. The progress of the English was so rapid and quiet that they took the Indians wholly by surprise. The first intimation these had of the presence of their enemies was the discharge of musketry into the open doors and windows of their cabins. There were not more than fifty warriors in the place at the time. Some of these were killed by the first volley. The survivors, hastily seizing

Norridgewock surprised

their arms, placed themselves between the assail-
1724 ants and their women and children, and hurried them off to the security of the forest.

And now came the last heroic sacrifice of Father Rasle. Knowing that his capture was the principal object of the English, he came out of his cabin and quietly advanced toward them. But he had decided, if this ruse did not succeed, to draw their fire upon himself and thus insure the safety of the women and children. It was a noble sacrifice, and he made it willingly. Seven Indian chiefs, observing his purpose, surrounded him, hoping to shield his person from the hostile bullets. But the same volley that slew him also laid them low. They fell in a heap upon his prostrate form, and died in a vain effort to save the life of the only white man they had ever loved.

Rasle sacrifices his life

Meanwhile the fleeing Indians had gained the forest by wading and swimming the river, and were for the present in safety. The Massachusetts men, after pillaging the cabins and the church, tore down the crucifix and the sacred pictures, set the buildings on fire, and then retreated to the settlements. When the Indians returned to bury their dead and dress the wounded, they found their homes devastated, and the body of the beloved priest so hacked and mutilated as to be almost unrecognizable. He had been wounded in many places, his scalp torn off, and his mouth crammed with mud. These indignities inflamed their savage passions, and as they stood and knelt about his prostrate form, they lifted their tomahawks and

Norridgewock burned

Rasle's corpse ill-used

scalping-knives toward heaven and vowed vengeance against the race whose soldiers had done this deed. The body of the priest was buried beneath the ruins of the altar, where in former times he had ministered to them and their children; and the warriors hastened to rejoin their countrymen in wreaking vengeance on the hated English. 1724

War even fiercer after Rasle's death

The war-cloud thickened over Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The crack of the musket was heard in many places, and the flames of burning homes illumined the darkness of the night. The offer of bounty for Indian scalps stimulated the energy of the white soldier, while the thirst for vengeance on the part of the savages nerved their arms in wielding the tomahawk and the scalping-knife.

The oldest town in New Hampshire is Dover, settled in 1623; on the 27th of June, 1689,—when it was quite an old place as towns then counted in America,—it became the victim of savage hate. Twenty-three of its inhabitants were killed, and twenty-nine carried away captives. Some of the inhabitants were Quakers, who would neither employ firearms in defense of their homes, nor seek safety within the walls of the garrison house. They trusted in Providence for their security; but the Indians had no respect for their religious faith, and about the time of the death of Father Rasle, in 1724, several of the Dover Quakers were murdered and others carried away and domiciled in Canada. But no amount of suffering could lessen their trust in Providence or alter their repugnance

Massacre of Dover Quakers

1724-5

to war. They carried their faith with them into the country of the aliens, and won the respect of their enemies by unwavering adherence to principle.

Lovewell's adventures

One of the most daring and successful Indian fighters of this period was Captain John Lovewell, of Dunstable, Massachusetts. Reared in the midst of danger and excitement, he became a noted Indian fighter in his early youth, and a leader of men before he was fairly grown. It was his chief delight to explore the wilderness alone, seeking out the lurking-places of savage foes, and either inflicting punishment upon them with his own hand, or guiding parties of adventurous spirits like himself to places of danger. In December 1724 he led a party of thirty men away to the northward of Winnipesaukee Lake, which was then the utmost limit of the border and infested with roving bands of vengeance-seeking savages. He broke up several of these bands, and returned with a boy prisoner and a scalp. The following February he surprised a lurking band of ten Indians near Tamworth, New Hampshire, slew the whole party, and marched into Dover with their scalps exhibited on poles.

Victor over New Hampshire Indians

Last fight

Lovewell's last and fatal exploit was undertaken in April 1725. On this occasion he led a party of forty-six men on an expedition against the Pickwacket Indians, whose town was located on a beautiful sheet of water, a mile wide by two and a half in length, in the present township of Fryeburg, Maine. The savages had selected this

place on account of the fishing and hunting facilities it afforded, and here they established a town of considerable importance. Lovewell appreciated the fact that he was leading a forlorn hope against these Indians, for they could bring into the field more than twice the men whom he had in his command; and Chief Paugus never slept while an enemy was in his country. Therefore, on reaching Ossipee Lake in New Hampshire, which was still some distance from the Indian village, Lovewell halted and had his men build a temporary fortification, to serve as a place of refuge in case of disaster.

1725

"Lovewell's" fight with Paugus

Leaving twelve men in the fort, he pushed on with the remaining thirty-four to assault the Indian town. While pursuing an Indian hunter by whom they had been discovered, they fell into an ambush, and an assault followed in which eight of the thirty-four were killed and three wounded. Lovewell fell mortally wounded at the first shot. The surviving whites made a final stand on a little peninsula jutting out into the lake, and from this point of vantage beat off the savages, killing Paugus with others,[1] but with a loss of all save nine of their number. These made their way back to the settlements, where their heroism was rewarded

Deaths of both

[1] A stirring legend, once familiar to American schoolboys, related how Paugus and one of the white men faced each other at a brookside with guns just discharged; the one who should load first would have the other's life: the white man rammed home his charge, struck the gun-butt sharply on a stone, making the musket *prime itself* instead of waiting to put priming-powder on the pan, and sent his ball through Paugus' heart as the savage chieftain's bullet whistled over his head.

by the grant of what is now the town of Pembroke,
1725 New Hampshire.

The death of Father Rasle and the expeditions of Lovewell were the closing events in the war with the Abenakis. The loss of their priestly leader and their war-chief broke their spirit and dissipated their strength. Both sides were anxious for peace; and the colonial authorities, knowing that the true seat of war was in Canada, sent commissioners thither to confer with Vaudreuil. He was then at Montreal, where he received them with proverbial French blandness and courtesy. Vaudreuil was an accomplished courtier, as well as a daring and successful soldier. He professed surprise and incredulity when the commissioners exhibited his own letters to the priest. He realized the embarrassing position in which this guilty correspondence placed him, and his vexation was manifest in his uneasy manner. However willing his home government might be to take every advantage possible of the English, he knew very well that he had rendered the tenure of his own position perilous by violating the terms of the treaty between France and England. He realized that in case of trouble between the two countries he would be made to bear the blame; and never before had his honors seemed to sit so precariously on his shoulders. It would not do for those incriminating letters to find their way to France through English sources.

Abenaki power broken

Vaudreuil's intrigue exposed

He therefore promised the commissioners full reparation. They should have whatever they

wanted. Hostages and prisoners captured by the Indians should be restored, and peace should now take the place of war. The commissioners realized the advantage they held over the French commander. They viewed his embarrassment with triumphant exultation. But the influence of the Jesuits was all-powerful, and they observed that when he returned from a conference with them his manner was changed. He no longer made fair promises, but diplomacy was substituted for candor.

1725

Vaudreuil promises reparation

Retracts it

The commissioners persisted in their demands, until the governor finally exerted his influence to the extent of securing the release of some of the captives, on payment of ransom. He also promised to counsel the Indians to cease hostilities and make overtures of peace. This agreement he evidently carried out, for the warring tribes soon afterward sent ambassadors to Massachusetts with the pipe of peace. But this was due as much to Lovewell's desolating expeditions, and the vigorous preparations the colonists were making to carry the war into the heart of the Indian country, as to any influence that might have been exerted by Vaudreuil. A treaty was finally concluded near the close of 1725.

Treaty made with Abenakis

The English now decided to try the effects of commerce on the minds of the savages. They realized the futility of sending Protestant missionaries among them. The Catholic religion had taken too strong a hold upon their affections to be shaken; and any attempt to change their faith

Trade substituted for missions

1725–63

would result in harm. But the Indians had always been keenly alive to the advantages of commerce, and this now appeared to be the surest means of bringing them over to the side of the colonists and permanently retaining their friendship. In conformity with this plan, trading-posts were established along the banks of the principal rivers and bays, where goods suited to the Indian trade were sold for less than cost, while high prices were paid for all kinds of peltries.

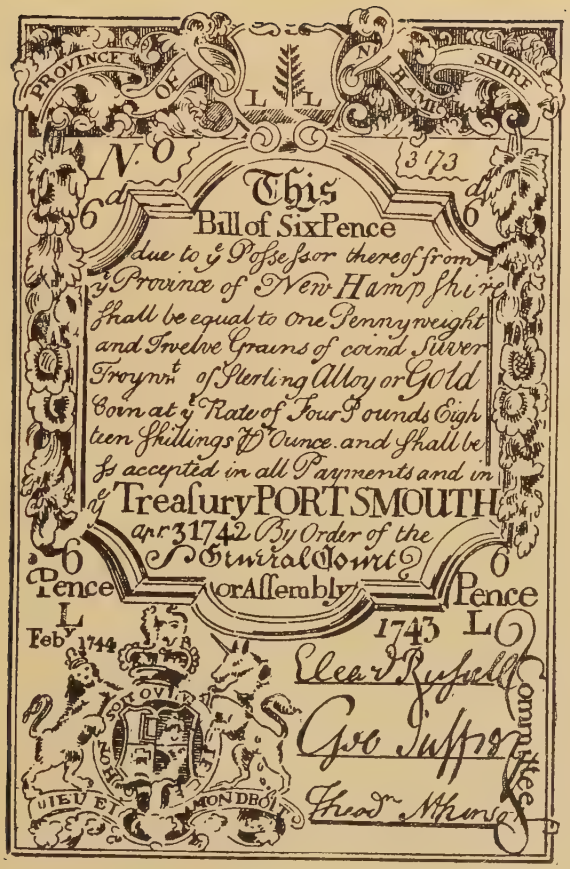
Trade at a loss substituted for war

This interchange by barter made the trade doubly attractive to the red men. The English soon drove the French out of the field and monopolized the trade of the savages. This result, however, was not accomplished without considerable loss, which had to be made up by public contributions; but it secured peace and the friendship of the savages, and was cheaper and better than war. By means of this pacific commercial policy, comparative tranquillity was secured for a period of more than twenty years, until the whole continent was again thrown into turmoil by the French and Indian War, which began in 1755 and lasted until 1763, if we include the Pontiac sequel.

A good bargain

Jonathan Belcher, who succeeded Burnet in 1729 as governor of Massachusetts, was a native of Cambridge, graduate of Harvard, and personally popular. He inherited a considerable fortune from his father, who had been a member of the provincial Council. At the age of eighteen, young Belcher visited Europe, spending some time at Hanover, where he formed an intimate friendship

Governor Belcher



NEW HAMPSHIRE PROVINCIAL CURRENCY.

with the future George II. Upon his return to America he engaged in trade in Boston, until he was sent to England as agent for the colony in 1729. 1729–40

His former friend was now King of England; and his friendship for Belcher, together with the high reputation which Belcher enjoyed at home, led to his appointment to the office of governor to succeed Burnet. As a private citizen he had been a prerogative man, and when installed in his new office he did not hesitate to express his political views. During nearly the whole period of his administration he was engaged in quarrels with the Assembly over the old controversy of the governor's salary, the New Hampshire and Maine boundary, and the issue of bills of credit. Belcher and his royalism

During the decade previous to 1740, Massachusetts had lightened the burden of taxation by the issue of bills of credit. These had depreciated, and had been the cause of many disputes within the colony. Royal instructions forbade the governor to approve any issue of bills of credit maturing later than 1741 unless all outstanding issues were redeemed. It speedily became evident that an attempt to redeem all of the depreciated paper would produce a serious financial crisis, and many plans were brought forward to postpone or avert the calamity. Financial bubbles

The one popular with the people was the land-bank scheme; a revival of the plan proposed in 1713, whereby a company was to issue its own bills, securing them by mortgages on the lands

1729–47

Land-bank scheme

of its stockholders. The Governor and more important men of the colony opposed the plan so successfully that the English government suppressed the company by an act of Parliament. The friends of the bank now united their efforts with other discontented elements in Massachusetts and New Hampshire to procure the removal of the Governor. He demanded a fixed salary of $5000 a year, and when the Assembly refused to grant it he dissolved that body. He had meanwhile endeavored to win members over to his side by a judicious distribution of offices, a trick not yet forgotten by politicians.

Belcher removed

These causes, together with his habit of too freely censuring those who opposed him, made him many enemies, and the popular clamor forced his removal in 1741. He went directly to England, where he found no trouble in vindicating himself in the eyes of the King, who in 1747 made him governor of New Jersey. Governor Belcher being wealthy, and of a liberal turn of mind, spent his money lavishly during his administration in Massachusetts, and lived in regal style. This did not suit the simple tastes of the Puritans, and it had something to do with his downfall. But to the last he retained the personal esteem of the people.

Shirley appointed

William Shirley, who succeeded Belcher as governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, was an English lawyer who had lived eight years in Boston and practiced in the courts of the province. At the time of his appointment in 1741, he was acting as one of the commissioners

for the settlement of the disputed boundary question between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, this being the only public duty he had performed up to that date. His first term as governor of Massachusetts embraced a period of four years, ending in 1745. He spent the succeeding eight years in Europe, and was one of the commissioners to Paris in 1750 to settle the limits of Nova Scotia and other matters of colonial controversy. In 1753 he was reappointed governor of Massachusetts, and subsequently lieutenant-general, and took a prominent part in the Seven Years' War.

1741–5

Shirley's career

The most brilliant military event in colonial history occurred in 1745, during the last year of Shirley's first term as governor of Massachusetts. This event was the siege and capture of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton. Since the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Nova Scotia, or Acadia as it was called by the French, had been nominally in possession of the English; but the greater part of the population remained French. By the terms of the treaty they were given the privilege of leaving the country within two years, if they chose to do so; but the French colonists were a pastoral people, devotedly attached to their humble homes, and comparatively few of them took advantage of the treaty stipulation to go elsewhere. They preferred to remain and submit to the humiliation of being governed by an alien power. But they declined to take the oath of allegiance, and in deference to their patriotic sentiments they were allowed merely to swear fidelity to the British

Louisbourg

The French Acadians

1713–45

king, and were exempted from military service against their native country. Hence they came to be known as the "neutral French." They retained their national religion, and were permitted to have magistrates of their own choosing. In all essential respects they were freer under the English government than they had been under that of France, but it galled their pride to submit to a people whom they regarded as the traditional enemies of their race. Much more potent, however, was the fact that the priests never ceased instilling into them that it was a sin against God and the Church to hold allegiance to a heretic State, and coaxing and menacing them to remain alien and disloyal. Hence they were always justly regarded with distrust by the English, as allies of the enemy; while on their part they made no effort to conceal their aversion to the foreign conquerors.

Acadians misguided by priests

Quite a number of the more enterprising spirits among them abandoned their little farms and fishing grounds, and crossing over to Cape Breton Island, established new homes there under French dominion. This island is separated from the mainland of the peninsula by a narrow channel, only a mile wide; and naturally enough there was a good deal of visiting and passing to and fro between the "neutral French" of Nova Scotia and the real French of Cape Breton. There was likewise much intriguing with the Indians, both on the island and the peninsula, whereby the natives were kept in a disturbed frame of mind, and waged

Colonize Cape Breton

a desultory war on the English settlements during nearly the whole period from 1713 to 1745. In fact, they prevented the English from extending their settlements in that locality. A few small colonies had been established at Canso, at Placentia, at Port Royal or Annapolis, and a few other points; but the English population was so few that the peninsula would have been practically uninhabited except for the neutral French. The latter were blamed for these conditions more than they deserved, for the principal part of the intriguing was done on Cape Breton Island, and in other parts of the French dominions. The Acadians, with comparatively few exceptions, were willing to let things go as they were, without any strenuous effort to change them. They were more interested in their little farms and their fishing grounds than they were in the government that directed their destinies.

1713–45

Cape-Bretonians and "neutral" Acadians

But the French government was active in fomenting such unrest as it could among its former subjects. The Acadians were not only encouraged to emigrate to Cape Breton, but new colonies were sent thither from the mother country, until that island became fairly well peopled with French inhabitants. The largest and most flourishing of these new settlements was called Louisbourg, in honor of the great Louis XIV., who died about the time it was founded. This place was located on the southeastern coast of Cape Breton Island; and here, about 1720 or perhaps a little earlier, the French regent decided to establish

French found Louisbourg

1720–45

the greatest fortified post in the New World. He would erect an American Gibraltar, that should command the Gulf of St. Lawrence and if need be the whole eastern coast of the continent. The conception of this great fortress was a magnificent idea, worthy of the great Louis himself; and it is more than probable that he suggested it before his death.

Fortifications of Louisbourg

The natural surroundings added greatly to the strength of the location. The harbor was an extensive landlocked basin, capable of accommodating all the fleets of France, with an entrance only half a mile wide. In the midst of this narrow channel lay Goat Island, which was protected by a battery of thirty cannon; and on the opposite shore another battery was established containing the same number of guns. None of the wooden war-ships of that time were capable of silencing such batteries, or running the gantlet between them. The city itself stood on a neck of land projecting into the south side of the bay, and was protected by a wall forty feet thick at the base and from thirty to thirty-six feet high. The sweep of the bastions covered every part of this immense wall, which was still further strengthened by a ditch eighty feet wide filled with water, enough to submerge an army. The works were defended by one hundred of the finest cannon of that date, besides seventy-six swivels and six mortars. The French had occupied nearly thirty years in building these fortifications, and spent more than $5,000,000 upon them. They were planning

to dominate the American continent, and when the works at Louisbourg were finished they believed they had accomplished their purpose. But the American colonists came with eighteen old-fashioned cannon and three iron mortars, and knocked their Gibraltar about their ears as if it had been a toy house! 1720–45

The French made one fatal mistake. They depended too much on the strength of their fortifications and the excellence of their cannon, and neglected to man the works properly. At the time of the siege there were but about six hundred regular soldiers within the fortifications, and one thousand Cape Breton militia. The latter, however, ought to have been as good soldiers as their Massachusetts antagonists, for both sides were pioneers and trained in Indian warfare.

Louisbourg badly undermanned

On the 15th of March, 1744, France declared war against England, and twenty-five days later England responded with a counter-declaration. The contest grew out of the mutual jealousies that had been inspired by the accession of Maria Theresa to the Austrian throne. All Europe was in a blaze. Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Sardinia, France, and Spain pounced upon various portions of the Austrian territory, like a pack of hungry wolves, each manifesting a willingness to determine the destinies of that nation.

War of Austrian Succession

At that time a French officer named Duquesnel, a man of enterprise and daring, was governor of Cape Breton Island, with his headquarters at Louisbourg. News of the declaration of war came

1744 to him before it reached the English colonies, and he promptly availed himself of the opportunity to strike a blow. It was precisely such an occasion as he had longed for. The fortifications at Louisbourg were complete. The old French population of Nova Scotia numbered about 16,000 persons, and Duquesnel believed that a successful venture on his part would bring all the fighting men among these people to his standard. The English had a small garrison, with a governor and a council, at Annapolis; and another little settlement of fishermen had been formed at Canso, on the southeastern extremity of Nova Scotia. A small stockaded fort, intended only to resist Indian musketry, and a slender detachment from the garrison at Annapolis, were the only obstacles in the way, and these were barely enough to give zest to the enterprise.

French governor plans invasion of Nova Scotia

So, before the colonists had any intimation of the existence of war, Duquesnel despatched a fleet of small war-ships with nine hundred men on board, and captured the fort at Canso. It was a holiday trip for the French, in which no one was hurt. The little garrison of eighty men was wholly unprepared for the attack, and they were carried away as prisoners of war to Louisbourg. It was eighty against nine hundred, besides the war-ships. The stockade and group of fishermen's huts were given to the flames, and the place that had so lately been a promising English settlement became once more a desolation.

Captures Canso

The success at Canso induced Duquesnel to extend his efforts at conquest; and he accordingly

sent expeditions against Placentia in Newfoundland, and Annapolis the capital of Nova Scotia. 1744
But the English by this time had heard of the war, and were ready. Governor Shirley had sent reinforcements to Annapolis, and at both places the works were put in such fighting trim as the shortness of the time would allow. An attack was made on the fort at Annapolis by a combined force of French and Indians, the latter being accompanied and encouraged by their missionary, La Loutre. The assault was determined and desperate, for religious enthusiasm nerved the arms and animated the breasts of the warriors; but it failed. The French and Indians were driven away with heavy loss, and retreated in dismay. The English colonists were better fighters than their enemy had supposed.

Futile French assault on Annapolis

The attack on Placentia met with a similar result. The French were defeated, and returned to the protection of their fortifications at Louisbourg with a new conception of the magnitude of the enterprise they had undertaken. Duquesnel now decided on a different course. Instead of attacking the English land garrisons, he sent his armed ships out to capture their merchantmen and fishing vessels. In this endeavor he was successful, for the English boats were not prepared to resist. All the captured vessels were brought into Louisbourg and condemned as prizes of war, while the sailors were added to the number of prisoners confined in the castle. In this way the fishing and maritime interests of the English were

And Placentia

Successful privateering

paralyzed during the summer and fall of 1744. Governor Shirley appealed to England for assistance, but the mother country had as much as she could attend to on her own side of the water. An English fleet under Commodore Warren was stationed in the West Indies, but it was alleged that those ships could not be spared from the protection of the islands.

1744

England declines to protect New England

When these events became known in New England, the people were aroused to a high pitch of indignation against the French, and a zealous war spirit was developed in all parts of the country. The fishermen and merchant traders, whose business had been ruined, were emphatic in their demand for war and the protection of their interests.

Which is wrathful

Toward the end of the year, the officers and men who had been imprisoned at Louisbourg were released and sent to Boston on parole. From these men it was learned that Duquesnel had recently died; that he had been succeeded by an old general of but little intelligence or capacity; that the garrison at Louisbourg was weak, consisting of not more than six hundred regulars, with nine hundred or a thousand Cape Breton militia disposed to be mutinous; that the fortifications in many places were dilapidated and falling into decay; and that Duvivier had been hastily dispatched to France with an appeal for immediate succor. It seems that the failure of their efforts against Annapolis and Placentia had thrown the French into a panic, and they were already trembling with

Panic at Louisbourg

apprehension of the capture of their American Gibraltar. 1744–5

Among the paroled prisoners were several competent engineers, who furnished Governor Shirley with accurate drawings of the fortifications and the entrance to the harbor. By means of these drawings, and other information that he obtained from them, the governor was enabled to plan a campaign against Louisbourg which he confidently believed would be crowned with success. As he studied the plan, he became enthusiastic regarding its practicability; while the magnitude of the undertaking, and the splendor of the achievement in case of victory, were of the very essence of its desirability. He therefore notified the members of the Assembly, which was then in session, that he desired to submit an important proposition to them, under oath that they would not reveal it. Such a request was unusual, and even extraordinary; but they had full confidence in the Governor's integrity and patriotism, and they accordingly bound themselves to secrecy as he had requested. When he stated his proposition they were amazed. When they had partly recovered their composure, they declared that the plan was wholly unfeasible. If all the colonies were united, they said, they could not hope to reduce so strong a place as Louisbourg, and for the New England provinces to attempt the enterprise alone would be nothing short of madness.

Shirley plans reduction of Louisbourg

Assembly holds back

But the Governor persisted, and soon won over some of the strongest members to his side. The

1745

debate lasted for several days, the Governor's side gaining strength all the time. News of what had been debated in the secret sessions of the Assembly spread through Boston and the surrounding country. The people were eager for war, and the boldness of the Governor's proposition caught their fancy and aroused their enthusiasm. But after several days' debate the question was submitted to a committee, which reported adversely.

Assembly votes down Louisbourg scheme

The matter, however, was not suffered to rest. The Governor appealed to the people; and at his suggestion a number of the leading men of Boston, and nearly all the merchants of Salem and Marblehead, sent petitions earnestly entreating the Assembly to save the fisheries and commerce of the colonies from ruin by consenting to the expedition. The question was accordingly reopened, and after being again thoroughly debated was carried by a majority of one. Even this slender majority was due to an accident. Andrew Oliver,[1] one of the

Reconsiders and carries it

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[1] Oliver subsequently made himself notorious in connection with the preliminary events of the Revolution. When Parliament passed the Stamp Act he accepted the position of stamp distributor, and thus became odious to his fellow-citizens. He was afterward re-elected to the Council by a bare majority; and on the 14th of August in 1765 the people hanged him in effigy on the "Liberty Tree," between the forms of Lord Bute and George Grenville, the reputed author of the Stamp Act. The same evening the populace, with cries of "Liberty, property, and no stamps!" demolished a building that was in course of construction for a stamp office. The next morning Oliver publicly signed a pledge that he would not act as a stamp officer. A few months later, when it was rumored that he intended to enforce the Stamp Act, the Sons of Liberty marched him to the Liberty Tree, and there compelled him to swear, before justice of the peace Richard Dana, that he would never directly or indirectly take measures for the enforcement of the hateful Stamp Act. He subsequently wrote letters to prominent members of the administration in London, recommending the sending of

members, while on his way to the meeting of the Assembly, intending to vote against the measure, fell and broke his leg. The accident seemed providential, for it prevented the defeat of the most splendid single achievement of the colonies. Even then the measure was saved by the vote of the Speaker.

1745

Narrow escape of Louisbourg expedition

An express was sent to Commodore Warren in the West Indies, inviting him to join the expedition; but while he was disposed personally to do so, he did not feel justified in leaving his regular station without orders from England. Fortunately, those came in time to enable him to join the colonists at Canso, and his fleet rendered material service to their cause during the progress of the siege.

Admiral Warren

The little colonial army of fishermen, farmers, tradesmen, and mechanics was placed under command of William Pepperrell, a wealthy merchant of Kittery, Maine, and a colonel in the Massachusetts militia. Lieutenant-Governor Roger Wolcott, who had come at the head of the Connecticut militia, was made second in command, with the title of major-general.

William Pepperrell was a man of extraordinary ability. He was the Washington of New England, whose fame was eclipsed only by that of the great Revolutionary leader whose career

William Pepperrell

troops to America, part of the famous "Hutchinson correspondence"; and when he died in 1774, popular feeling against him had become so intense that a mob attended upon his interment and hurrahed at the entombing of his body, and at night a coffin and insignia of infamy were exhibited in a public window in Boston.

1745

followed so closely upon his own. At the age of twenty-one he was appointed captain of a company of cavalry, and was soon afterward promoted, first to major, and then to lieutenant-colonel. On reaching his thirtieth year he was made a full colonel, and placed in command of all the militia operating in the district of Maine. Like Washington, he won reputation in the Indian wars, and in 1726 he was elected to represent Kittery in the Massachusetts Assembly. The following year he became a member of the Council; and in 1730 Governor Belcher appointed him chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, a position which he held until his death.

Pepperrell's career

When the expedition against Louisbourg was organized, Judge Pepperrell contributed $25,000 from his own fortune to aid in arming and equipping the soldiers, and was chosen commander-in-chief. After the victory George II. made him a baronet, and he thus became the first native-born American to receive that distinction. He was regarded in his time as the richest man in New England. His estates were valued at more than $1,000,000, and were so extensive that he could perform a day's journey in riding across his own territory. When at home in Kittery he lived in baronial style. His servants and slaves were numbered by scores, he rode in a coach-and-six, and on the river he had a stately barge manned by a crew of Africans dressed in showy uniforms. His own dress was of the latest cut and fashion, composed of fine scarlet cloth and trimmed with rich

Rank and wealth

SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

gold-lace. He entertained with the most lavish hospitality, was extraordinarily generous in his contributions to charitable and benevolent objects, and was universally popular with all classes of the people. 1745

Such were the men and the commanders who composed the colonial army that set out to capture the American Gibraltar.

While the preparations were under way, Pepperrell sought counsel of the great revivalist, George Whitefield, who was then a guest at his house. It seems that the leader was oppressed with the magnitude of the undertaking, and in doubt as to its outcome. Whitefield admitted that the scheme did not look promising. If it failed, the widows and orphans of the slain would reproach the leader; if it succeeded, he would become an object of envy and malice. The safer plan was to remain at home and let some other man command the expedition; but if he decided to go, it must be with a motive so pure and strong as to deserve success. When Pepperrell finally decided to accept the responsibility of commanding the expedition, he asked Whitefield to give him a motto for his flag; whereupon the eminent divine suggested, "*Nil Desperandum, Christo Duce*," "Nothing is to be despaired of, with Christ for the leader." The motto was accepted and emblazoned on the flag of the New Hampshire men; and many enlisted in that regiment with the same spirit as if going on a new Crusade—as indeed they were, for supremacy of Protestantism in North America.

Whitefield's counsel

A new crusade

1745 Seth Pomeroy, then a major in one of the Massachusetts regiments, and who thirty years later was appointed a major-general in the Continental army for his gallantry at Bunker Hill, wrote home to his wife from before the walls of the fortress, "It looks as if our campaign would last long; but I am willing to stay till God's time comes to deliver the city into our hands." His wife was equally pious and cheerful. "Suffer no anxious thought to rest in your mind about me," she wrote in reply. "The whole town is much engaged with concern for the expedition, how Providence will order the affair, for which religious meetings every week are maintained. I leave you in the hand of God."

Religious enthusiasm for Louisbourg campaign

So great was the enthusiasm at Kittery, the home of the commander, that nearly every man in the place capable of bearing arms joined the ranks. Only eight weeks were occupied in enlisting the men and organizing the regiments.

Army swiftly organized

At length a fleet of one hundred small vessels was collected at Nantasket Roads; a day of fasting and prayer was ordered throughout the province of Massachusetts, and one evening of each week was set aside to be devoted to special prayer for the success of the expedition.

The Massachusetts regiments sailed on the 24th of March for the general rendezvous at Canso. The New Hampshire regiment, eager for the fray, had already preceded them; and the men of Connecticut soon followed those of Massachusetts. It was the 10th of April when the latter reached Canso; and here they were detained many days

Sails for Canso

on account of the ice-floes that were heaped up in the bays of Cape Breton Island. No ship could penetrate the ice, and the men could do nothing but wait until the sun dissolved it. On the 23d of April a fleet of war-ships was observed approaching from the southwest, and a good deal of apprehension was felt until the vessels came near enough to show the British flag flying from their mastheads. It proved to be the fleet of Commodore Warren, from the West Indies. He had received orders from home to aid the colonists in their venture against Louisbourg, and had sailed for Boston; but meeting a merchant ship on the way, he was told that the expedition had already started. He then changed his course and came directly to Canso, arriving just in time to inspire the New-Englanders with fresh courage and enthusiasm. The next day the Connecticut forces arrived in nine ships, and were greeted with loud cheering by the united army.

1745

Warren's fleet arrives at Canso

By the 30th of April the ice had diminished sufficiently to enable the troops to effect a landing. Up to this time not a single French vessel of any kind had been observed, and the first intimation the garrison at Louisbourg had of the approach of the expedition was the appearance of a great fleet of more than one hundred ships in the bay of Gabarus, just south of the fortifications. The French were taken completely by surprise, and thrown into a panic by the formidable aspect of the moving forest of masts and sails. The colonists made a feint of landing at a certain point;

Expedition before Louisbourg

1745

Skillful landing at Louisbourg

and having drawn the enemy there to oppose them, they suddenly set one-half their army ashore at another place, where there was no opposition. By the end of the second day the whole expedition had safely landed.

Great battery captured

During the following night Lieutenant-Colonel William Vaughan, of the New Hampshire regiment, led a detachment composed principally of his own men around the city to the northeastern part of the bay of Louisbourg, where he captured several large warehouses filled with brandy, wine, and other inflammable stores. This was a daring movement, and it proved to be one of the most brilliant and successful events of the siege. The warehouses were located near one of the great batteries, and as the town and all its fortifications lay between that point and the American army, the French had no expectation of an attack in that quarter. As soon as the warehouses were in their possession Vaughan directed his men to apply the torch, and almost instantly the spirits burst into leaping columns of flame and dense clouds of black smoke. All who have witnessed the alarming aspect of a great conflagration at night can appreciate the feelings of the French. Dismayed by the supposition that the Americans had surrounded them and were about to attack from the rear, the men at the battery spiked their guns, threw their powder into a well, and taking to their boats, fled across the bay to the city.

At daylight Vaughan reconnoitred the battery with thirteen men, and finding it deserted, took

possession. Having no flag to mark their capture, one of the men pulled off his coat, and holding it in his teeth, climbed to the top of the flag-staff and nailed it fast there. The French, now perceiving that they had fled from a phantom, sent a detachment of one hundred men to dislodge Vaughan and his little band of thirteen heroes. But the Americans met them at the water's edge and held them back until reinforcements came. 1745

Vaughan holds French battery

During the night Vaughan had notified his commander of his acquisition, in the following terms: "May it please your honor to be informed that by the grace of God and thirteen men, I entered the royal battery about nine o'clock, and am waiting for a reinforcement and a flag." The flag and the reinforcements were both promptly forthcoming, and Vaughan held the battery throughout the remainder of the siege. As soon as the spiked guns could be drilled—which was done by Major Seth Pomeroy, a gunsmith by trade, and in charge of twenty-five smiths reserved for that line of duty—they were turned on the city, and proved effective instruments of destruction in the hands of the Americans.

Turns it on Louisbourg

There was little in the way of discipline among the men, and no regularity in the progress of the siege; and yet it could hardly have been conducted more successfully by a thoroughly trained army. The soldiers laughed at technical military terms, and made jest of zigzags and parallels; but they performed with remarkable spirit whatever duty was assigned to them. Fascine batteries were

1745 erected to the west and southwest of the city, to which cannon had to be conveyed over bogs and morasses impassable for wheels. Sledges were constructed for this purpose, which the men dragged by ropes and straps over their shoulders, while they waded in mud and ooze to their knees. This disagreeable duty was performed with shouts of laughter as if it had been a frolic. There were many young men in the army, mere boys, and it was indeed a grand frolic for them. They had no regular encampment, but slept on the ground in huts made of turf and brush. Fortunately, the weather was mild and clear during the entire siege, for otherwise the army would have suffered greatly from the unaccustomed exposure of the men. When not on duty they spent the day in various amusements—fishing, wrestling, racing, shooting at marks, and chasing the cannon-balls fired at them from the enemy's guns.

American batteries erected against Louisbourg

Toward the end of May the *Vigilant,* a French war-ship of sixty-four guns, and having on board five hundred and sixty men and a large quantity of military stores, was decoyed by one of the smaller American vessels into the midst of Commodore Warren's fleet, and captured after a spirited action of several hours. The Frenchman fought gallantly, but was overpowered by superior numbers. This engagement took place within plain view of the besieged garrison, and the result had a very dispiriting effect on them.

Important naval capture

The English fleet was soon afterward strengthened by the arrival of fresh ships; on which their

operations both by sea and land were pushed with renewed energy. The battery on the island, at the entrance of the harbor, was silenced by the siege works; the circular battery on shore was nearly destroyed; and trenches were advanced to within two hundred yards of the fortifications, from which cannon steadily pounded the walls of the city. No breach had yet been made, but the town and garrison had suffered severely from bombs and round-shot. At length it was determined, at a council of war between the commanders of the fleet and army, to make a combined assault on the 29th of June; but the French commander, learning of their purpose, sent a flag of truce with proposals for capitulation. These were accepted, and the surrender took place June 28.

1745

Louisbourg heavily bombarded

Surrender

The capture came at a most opportune time for the besiegers. Their powder was almost exhausted, and sickness was beginning to spread among the men. But victory brought health and happiness. As they marched into the city, and for the first time saw the thickness of the walls and the general strength of the fortifications, they were astonished at their own achievements. "Surely," said these pious New-Englanders, "God has gone out of the way of his common providence, in a remarkable and almost miraculous manner, to incline the hearts of the French to deliver into our hands so formidable a position." They attributed their victory to the interposition of a higher power, and unhesitatingly proclaimed that it was a triumph of the true religion over the false. There

Providence given the glory

1745–6

was a large truth in this, though not just as they meant it.

Some of the results were indeed remarkable. Although the French were well protected by their works, and possessed a vast superiority in weight and character of artillery, they had 300 men killed during the siege, while the Americans lost but 130. The French surrendered 650 regular troops, 1300 Breton militia, and about 600 sailors and mariners; while their loss in cannon, military stores, and other public property was enormous. All the captured soldiers and about 2000 of the inhabitants were sent to France.

Relative losses at Louisbourg

The Americans remained in possession of the place about a year, and during this time the French flag was kept constantly flying from the ramparts, as a decoy for vessels of that nation which were expected to arrive. In this way many ships that had not heard of the reduction of the fortress were lured into the trap and captured. The value of all the prizes secured exceeded $5,000,000.

Place used as a lure

Governor Shirley came over from Boston soon after the surrender, and received the keys of the city from General Pepperrell. Both of these gentlemen were soon afterward commissioned as colonels in the British regular army, while Commodore Warren was promoted to be an admiral. England went wild with joy over the result. Bells were rung, great bonfires were kindled, cannon were fired, and for a week or two—until the landing of the Young Pretender gave them something quite else to think of—the inhabitants of the

island did little else but congratulate themselves and their countrymen over the great victory. Indeed, all Europe was astonished, for the belief had prevailed that there were not men enough in America to capture Louisbourg. When it became known that the result had been achieved by a little army of less than four thousand New England boys, led by a militia colonel who had never before heard the sound of hostile cannon, the astonishment developed into amazement.

1745

Capture of Louisbourg amazes Europe

In fact, Europe made more noise over the victory than the men who had won it, and who attributed all the glory to God. The church bells throughout New England were rung, and there were sermons and services of thanksgiving; but there was no vain exultation or idle boasting. The victors undoubtedly appreciated the magnitude of their achievement, but they were in no sense vainglorious. On the contrary, they appeared to be subdued by the very grandeur of their victory.[1]

Strikes New England with religious awe

[1] Witness the following incident:—Samuel Moody, one of the noted divines of Massachusetts, had joined the expedition as senior chaplain, and was entitled by virtue of his office to say grace at the general's table. On such occasions it was his custom to give a long address, covering the whole range of providential possibilities, and returning thanks for every conceivable blessing. The delivery of such an address usually occupied nearly as much time as a modern sermon: and no matter how hungry the expectant guests might be, they were compelled to sit and wait patiently until the harangue ended; for the parson had a very uncertain temper, and none who knew him were bold enough to remonstrate against his well-known weakness. The day following the surrender General Pepperrell gave a dinner in honor of the event, to which the French officers and prominent citizens were invited. The American officers dreaded the approach of the dinner hour; for it was supposed that Parson Moody, inspired by the surroundings, would afflict the guests with a grace of more than ordinary length. They were agreeably surprised, however, when he arose and said, simply: "O Lord, we have so many things to thank thee for, that time will

1745-8

Three years afterward, when General Pepperrell visited London, he was knighted by George II., and at Pitt's suggestion he was made a lieutenant-general. The city of London also presented him with a silver table and a service of massive plate. Yet when it came to the distribution of other honors and the bestowal of simple justice, the Americans were neglected. In all substantial results their victory was barren; but it gave them experience in warfare, and created a self-confidence that served them well in the greater events of the future. Some of the same old drums that beat on the triumphal entry of the colonists at Louisbourg, beat again at Bunker Hill thirty years afterward; and Richard Gridley,[1] who

Results to colonies of Louisbourg capture

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be infinitely too short to do it; we must therefore leave it for the work of eternity. Bless our food and fellowship on this joyful occasion, for the sake of Christ our Lord. Amen."

[1] Richard Gridley was a son of the distinguished lawyer, Jeremiah Gridley, and was born in Boston on the 3d of January, 1711. On arriving at manhood he chose the army as his profession, and gained a great reputation as an artillerist. He was Pepperrell's chief engineer at the siege of Louisbourg, and the following year he was made chief engineer and colonel of infantry in the British army. He participated in the expeditions against Crown Point under Winslow, and planned the fortifications on Lake George. He served under Amherst in 1758, and fought with Wolfe on the plains of Abraham. At the close of the Seven Years' War the British government rewarded his services by a gift of one of the Magdalen Islands, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with half-pay for life. At the commencement of the Revolution he espoused the patriot cause, although by so doing he forfeited his pension and possessions. He was appointed chief engineer and commander of the Continental artillery at Cambridge, and planned and superintended the construction of the works on Bunker Hill the night before the battle. During the engagement he was exposed to the severest fire of the enemy, and was wounded. After Washington's arrival at Cambridge, Gridley superintended the construction of the fortifications that hemmed Boston in; the next September he was commissioned major-general, and commanded the Continental artillery until the British evacuation.

planned Pepperrell's batteries around Louisbourg, laid out the works for the American patriots on Bunker Hill in 1775. The prize money for the captured French ships amounted to more than $3,000,000, but no part of this vast sum was distributed among the colonials. General Pepperrell contended for an equal share for his soldiers, to which they were justly entitled; but the whole amount was given to Commodore Warren and his English sailors. Even the great fortress and the rich territory which their valor had won were taken from them by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and restored to France. And when, as one of the results of this peace, the New England troops were disbanded, their general had to furnish the means from his own private purse to bring them home. A year after the treaty of peace, Parliament grudgingly voted less than a million dollars to reimburse the colonists for their expenses in the war, a sum entirely out of proportion to the amount they had actually paid out.

1745–8

Injustice to victors of Louisbourg

Colonial interests sacrificed

Colonies not repaid

While Europe was astonished at the achievement of the colonies, France was amazed and infuriated. Duvivier brought the first news of the disaster to the French arms in America. He had been dispatched with a squadron of seven ships to the relief of Louisbourg; but in mid-ocean he captured an English vessel having on board Lieutenant-Governor Clarke of New York, from whom he learned the astounding news that the great French fortress was then in possession of the colonists. Duvivier returned at once to his native

French learn of the capture

1745–6

country, where the evil tidings that he bore spread over the kingdom. The nation was intensely agitated. Revenge on a gigantic scale was planned. France would recover not only the lost province of Cape Breton, but she would conquer all the English colonies in America and add them to her dominions. The whole country, from Maine to Georgia, should be French territory.

France plans revenge for Louisbourg

Swift messengers were dispatched to the French colonies in America, and an army of two thousand Canadians and Indians was organized, to act in concert with a much larger force of veteran French troops that were to be sent from the parent country. Preparations were pushed with vigor. All probable contingencies were considered, and ample arrangements made to meet them. Eleven sixty-four gun ships, and thirty smaller vessels carrying from ten to thirty guns each, were set aside for the American expedition, and refurnished and put in thorough condition. Besides this great fleet of war vessels, there were transports enough to carry an army of three thousand men with all their arms and equipments; and four additional men-of-war were to be picked up in the West Indies. This great French armada sailed early in the summer of 1746.

Great French armada fitted out

The Americans heard of its coming. They also knew about the preparations that were going on in Canada. Word had been received from England that Boston was to be bombarded and the whole eastern coast ravaged. Meanwhile Governor Shirley had been urging the home government to send

a fleet and army to co-operate with the colonists, not only in holding and protecting Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia, but to wrest all the Canadian possessions from France, and thus forever end the contest that had been going on for more than a century between the two powers. The plan was approved by the English ministry. They promised to send an army and a fleet of thirty ships; but meanwhile the colonists were instructed to organize and drill an army of their own. Circular letters to this effect were sent to nearly all the colonial governors.

1746

Shirley urges war against French colonies

The response was commendably prompt. Massachusetts alone had in the field 3500 men, thoroughly organized and equipped, before the ice was out of Boston harbor. Connecticut and New Hampshire increased the number by 1500, and New York supplied 1600 more. Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas all furnished their quotas. The delightful logic by which the Pennsylvania Quakers reconciled their religion with their patriotism has been told under that colony. About 10,000 men were thus organized and ready for action before the sailing of the French fleet from Rochelle.

Colonies raise new army

After all the preparations by the colonies, the promised British fleet and army never appeared in American waters. Governor Shirley, at length despairing of the promised assistance, determined to attack some part of the French possessions with the colonial forces. Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, was the first place selected. But before this

British assistance does not come

1746

plan could be matured, information of a startling nature was received from Nova Scotia. A large French fleet had arrived and anchored in Chebucto Bay in that province, having on board a thoroughly equipped army of 3000 troops. This force, added to the one already organized in Canada, amounted to more than one-half of the entire colonial army, without making any allowance for detachments to garrison the numerous forts along the coast. The little American army of less than 10,000 men was scarcely sufficient even for this duty, in face of the force that France was preparing to hurl against the seaport towns. A strong reinforcement for the French was also expected daily from the West Indies.

Great French expedition announced

A momentary panic spread over the New England provinces. It was well known that the first blow was intended for them, and they felt that they were in no condition to receive it. But the imminence and threatening character of the danger soon brought out a revival of courage. Within a few days 6400 militia marched into Boston and joined the forces already there; and Connecticut sent word that if they were needed she was ready to supply 6000 more. Armed men seemed to rise up out of the ground. There were already men enough at hand to repel the threatened invasion, with apparently unlimited numbers to draw upon in case of need. Never before had the colonists witnessed so grand a demonstration of their power; and it came to them like a revelation. Fortifications along the coast were now repaired, extended,

Colonies rise to the danger

and strengthened; and many new forts were constructed at places that had previously been unprotected. If the French had come, they would have met a warm reception. 1746

It was still believed that the promised English fleet and army were on the way to America; and relying upon the promises of the ministry, Governor Shirley sent assurances to that effect to the garrison at Louisbourg. He urged them to be of good cheer, for not only was the English fleet expected daily, but he was also preparing to send them a reinforcement of colonials. Shirley's baseless hopes

Fortunately this dispatch fell into the hands of the French commanders at Chebucto, and it threw them into consternation. Their fleet had encountered severe storms on the way over, and several vessels had been wrecked. Some of the ships that had been separated in the storm had not yet arrived. They might never be heard from again. A pestilential fever had broken out among the soldiers, from which several hundred died, and the remainder were so disheartened as to be almost unfit for duty. Disaster had attended the expedition from its inception. Create French panic

Disasters to their expedition

The commanders were at variance as to whether they should remain or return to France; and in the midst of the confusion D'Anville, who was at the head of the expedition, suddenly died. By some his death was attributed to apoplexy; but others contended that he had wilfully taken poison to escape the censure which he knew awaited him. D'Estournelles, his successor, had scarcely Commander's death

1746–7

assumed command when he received word that the expected reinforcement of French ships from the West Indies had returned home. He thereupon called a council of his officers, and proposed that they should pursue the same course; but when they declined to act upon his advice, he drew his sword and threw himself upon its upturned point, in emulation of the heroes of ancient history.

French commander commits suicide

But this sacrifice did not end the disasters that attended the French army and fleet. Another tempest arose and swept the ocean. It raged for many days, and the ships were driven far apart. Having no means of communication, and the men on each vessel supposing the others were lost, the crippled ships turned their prows homeward, and one by one they sailed into the harbors of France. In all these events the pious New-Englanders firmly believed that they beheld the hand of Providence. God was on their side, and he had sent the tempest and the whirlwind to scatter and confound their enemies.

Entire expedition wrecked

Thus matters went along until the summer of 1747, when the colonists met with a serious disaster in Nova Scotia. A considerable body of Canadian troops had established themselves there. They were attacked by a Massachusetts regiment, which, after one of the hottest fights of that generation, was defeated and captured. This was a severe blow to the New-Englanders; but it soon had its compensation in a brilliant victory for the English arms on the sea. France had been successful in the war then raging in Europe, and

New England disaster in Nova Scotia

her government accordingly determined to make another effort to recover the ground it had lost in America. A new fleet of nine large ships was prepared, carrying over 3000 men and 420 guns. It sailed the last of April 1747, with orders to subdue English America; but off Cape Finisterre, on May 3, it encountered the English fleet under Admirals Anson and Warren, and after a desperate engagement was defeated and captured.

1747–8

French fleet captured

As soon as the commander of the Canadian troops in Nova Scotia learned of this disaster, he abandoned that province and marched his men back home. There he resumed the old plan of leading bands of French and Indians across the border to harass the English settlements. So frequent were these incursions, and so much were they dreaded, that the people of New Hampshire adopted the expedient of fortifying their homes, and never venturing abroad without arms in their hands. Many plantations were desolated, while their owners were either massacred or carried into captivity. But it was observed that the Indians at this period were far less cruel and sanguinary than they had been in former wars. Their savage natures had been softened either by the religion taught them by the French priests, or by their long intercourse with the English settlers.

Nova Scotia abandoned by French

At length the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored peace once more to the contending nations of Europe, and afforded a breathing-spell to the American colonies. The proposal for peace came from the French monarch, who saw the principal part

of his fleet in the possession of the English, and
1748 his kingdom brought to the verge of bankruptcy. England had gained no substantial benefits, and was likewise anxious for peace.

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle

The peace congress met in Aix-la-Chapelle in April 1748, and by the 18th of October they came to an understanding and the treaty was signed. By the terms of the treaty the English conquests in America were to be restored to the original owners. This was a heavy blow to the hopes and ambitions of the New-Englanders. It meant the ignominious surrender of everything that had been acquired by their valor and the expenditure of their blood and treasure. The British flag was hauled down from the battlements of Louisbourg, and that fortress was restored to France, to be rebuilt and enlarged and strengthened for the next contest. Cape Breton was also surrendered, and became once more French territory; this although the English Lord of the Admiralty had declared that "if France were master of Portsmouth, he would hang the man who should give Cape Breton in exchange."

Colonies sacrificed to English interests in Europe

The disgraceful termination of the war was a bitter disappointment to the New-Englanders, who returned to Boston with downcast looks and their flags drabbled in the dust of humiliation. It is well to remember also, when the expenditures of British blood and treasure in defending the colonies from the French are brought forward, that it was expended solely to further British political interests *in Europe,* and that colonial interests

were sacrificed without hesitation when they conflicted with the paltriest ends to be gained there. 1747

In November 1747 an incident occurred in Boston which showed the temper of the people, and developed a principle that sixty-five years afterward became the inspiring cause of our second war with England. At that time an English fleet lay in the lower bay, opposite Nantasket, under command of Admiral Sir Charles Knowles, who has been described as "an officer without resolution and a man without veracity." At any rate, it was a fortunate thing for Knowles that this incident occurred,—if indeed an ill memory is better than none,—for without it he would have been nameless in the history of our country. Several seamen having deserted from his ships, Knowles sought to supply their places by sending armed boats, at an early hour in the morning, among the vessels lying in the bay, and forcibly impressing a large number of sailors. He also swept the wharves of warehousemen, apprentices, sail-makers, and landsmen. This was the common custom for replenishing the crews of English ships at that date; but the colonists were especially exempt from such impressments by a statute enacted during the reign of Queen Anne. Knowles either was not familiar with this statute, or he cared nothing for its provisions. He needed the men, and he took them; just as he had been in the habit of doing in other parts of the British realms.

Sir Charles Knowles

Tries English press-gang on Boston

Illegally

As soon as the outrage became known, the townspeople were transported with rage. Excited

1747

mobs quickly filled the streets. They were armed with sticks and stones, and such other weapons as they could lay their hands upon at the moment. Some, armed with guns, surrounded Governor Shirley's house, where a number of officers of the squadron had assembled. Observing the threatening aspect of the mob, the officers armed themselves with muskets and blunderbusses, and a murderous conflict seemed imminent. At this moment a feature of comedy was injected into the proceedings, and it very likely prevented the enactment of a frightful tragedy. So little does it require to change the destinies of men! A deputy sheriff appeared upon the scene and commanded the peace. The rioters laughed at his impudence, and the diversion restored their good-humor. They carried him off and set him in the stocks, where the rabble came to mock and jeer.

Mob gathers to resent impressment

Comic interlude

This trifling incident restored order for the time being; but the besieged officers were not permitted to return to their ships. The mob had decided to retain them as hostages. As night came on the fury of the populace increased. A large body of rioters gathered around the town-hall, where the General Court was sitting, and demanded the restoration of the men who had been impressed. Governor Shirley appeared on the balcony and addressed them in a reassuring speech. He cautioned them against violence, and advised them to disperse and return home, assuring them that he would exert himself to the utmost to secure the release of their fellow-townsmen. The Governor's speech had a

Mob demands release of pressed men

quieting effect, for he was very popular, and the people had confidence in him. But when he opposed the suggestion to retain the English officers as hostages, the fury of the mob flamed out afresh. Stones and brickbats were hurled against the windows and doors of the town-hall, and the Governor narrowly escaped personal violence in making his way homeward. 1747 Shirley mobbed

All night long the mob filled the streets; and the next morning the militia were called out to assist in quelling the disturbance, but they refused to act. The whole city was now in open insurrection against the authorities. The rioters were masters of the situation. They seized the English officers and placed them under guard; while Governor Shirley, by way of dignified protest against such lawless conduct, left the state-house and took refuge at the castle in the harbor. Thence he addressed a message to Knowles calling his attention to the statute of Anne exempting the colonists from impressment, and urging him, for the sake of peace, to release the men. Knowles replied by declaring that he would bombard the town unless his officers were set free. Boston in hands of insurgents

The riot had now continued for three days, and was gradually expending its fury. A number of influential citizens came together, and in a conference with Knowles a compromise was quietly agreed upon. The imprisoned officers were placed in charge of the militia, which had agreed to act for that purpose, and delivered to their ships; whereupon the men who had been impressed were Knowles forced to give way

set free. And thus the incident ended. When
1747 the squadron sailed out of the bay there were no Boston men on its decks. Knowles had learned a salutary lesson regarding the spirit of the American colonists, which his fellow-countrymen would have done well to heed. It is probable that he never reported the affair to his home government, for no inquiries were made and no investigation ordered. As for the Boston authorities, they were too much in sympathy with the people to make any attempt to punish the rioters.

Boston insurrection successful

Governor Shirley, however, was irritated over the disregard of authority which had been manifested; and he referred to the incident as a "rebellious insurrection." "The chief cause," he said, "of the mobbish turn of a town inhabited by twenty thousand persons is its constitution, by which the management of it devolves on the populace, assembled in their town meetings."

Shirley thinks town too democratic

We are now approaching an era in the history of Massachusetts where the public affairs of that province blend naturally with those of the other colonies. In the great struggle for English supremacy, all the colonies acted in unison; and it is therefore impossible to separate one from the others. Necessity forced the union which made them one nation and one people. The events of that era are embraced in the history of the great French and Indian War, and at that period the history of Massachusetts merged so closely into that of the other colonies that it can no longer be followed separately.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONNECTICUT TO THE WESTERN EXPANSION

The colony of Connecticut proclaimed King Charles II. in March after his landing in England. They drafted a petition and address which sound strangely to us from a Puritan source, and must have seemed as remarkable to them. These documents, however, were the product of the combined mental effort of the leaders of the colony, and diplomacy gave truth some painful jostling. In them they asked pardon for many shortcomings, emphasized the difficulties under which the colony had grown, and prayed for many favors.

1660

Connecticut and the Restoration

In the petition they explained the fact that they had no charter "by reason of the calamities of the late sad times." They retold the story of the Fenwick purchase, with which they had fain been content rather than to seek "for power or privilege from any other than their lawful prince and sovereign"; they prayed for a charter and immunity from customs, that they might be enabled "to go on cheerfully and strenuously in the plantation business."

Petition to Charles II.

In the address they bewailed their remoteness from the "splendor of so great a monarch in the princely palace of his renowned imperial city—the glory of the whole earth." They related the

Address to him

1660

Connecticut's address to Charles II.

circumstances attending the founding of the colony, and the trials with which its early days were filled. They had but begun their undertaking, they said, "when those sad and unhappy times of troubles and wars begun in England which they could only bewail with sighs and mournful tears." Ever since, they had "hid themselves behind the mountains in this desolate desert, as a people forsaken, choosing rather to sit solitary and wait upon divine Providence for protection than to apply to any of the many changes of powers."

In conclusion they said, "Our hearts, as well as our stations, still remain free from illegal engagements and entire to your Majesty's interests, even now at the return of our Lord the King to his Crown and dignities. The beams of his sovereignty (like that admired star that appeared at noonday at his happy nativity) have filled the world's hemisphere, and appeared also over the great deeps in this our horizon, whereby we are newly animated and encouraged to take upon us this boldness to implore your Majesty's favor and gracious protection, that you would be pleased to accept this colony—your own colony, a little branch of your mighty empire."

One would like to know the feelings of, or indeed the remarks made by, the authors of these documents as they drafted them. As an example of democracy addressing the King, it is as remarkable in form as it was effective in service. It is probable, however, that the influence of old friends in England, many of whom were now high in office,

contributed not a little to the success of Winthrop's mission. Connecticut had walked circumspectly, and moreover was favored by the general enmity to Massachusetts, which showed itself in all high places in England. The King, from whatever cause moved to unwonted graciousness, was inclined to deal most generously with the colony. Practically every request except freedom from customs was granted; and it is probable that the King signed without much question a charter of Winthrop's own construction, so broad and flexible that it remained the basis of the Connecticut government to 1818.

1660

Connecticut carries its points

While the colonies of New England were hesitating and deliberating upon the methods by which they might best preserve their liberties, the English government was taking steps to undo the work of the revolution, and to set in order the deranged machinery of church and state.

In November 1660 a new committee of plantations was appointed; among its members were Chancellor Hyde, the Earls of Southampton, Manchester, Lincoln, Clare, the Dukes of Marlborough, Portland, and Lord Say and Sele. Among these New England numbered several old and stanch friends, at a time when friends were sorely needed. The instructions to this committee have been given on page 1276. They furnished the guide to the policy pursued by England for the next fifty years, and the underlying cause of the American revolution may be seen in them. The colonies had grown in their own way, had their own special interests,

Lords of Trade and Plantations

1660–2

Committee of Plantations vs. America

their own political systems, and thus their own precedents. The purposes set forth in these instructions could not fail to run counter to many of the colonial practices, and the opposition once begun went on increasing in volume until the final separation.

Yet the home government did not propose to use undue haste or harsh methods. In a letter to New England early in 1662, the King refers to this little group of colonies as the choicest and most important centre of England's colonial system, in spite of many complaints which charged them with the "intention to suspend their obedience to the King's authority." The letters of the Council were written "with all possible tenderness," avoiding all matters which might set the people at a greater distance from the English government.

New England handled gingerly

Upon the news that the act for the punishment of the regicides had arrived in New England, and that some action must be taken upon it, Whalley and Goffe fled to New Haven. The warrant for their arrest followed them to Hartford; thence to New Haven, where Davenport, who must have known all the circumstances, said afterward "that they wanted neither will nor industry to have served his Majesty in apprehending them, but were prevented and hindered by God's overruling providence." It is to be remarked, however, that the will and industry were present only when the colonels were not, and that Providence stepped in at just at the right time always. The business of apprehension was intrusted to two young Boston

Regicides at New Haven

merchants, who found themselves foiled at every turn. The governor could not act without the Assembly; nothing could be done on Saturday, the evening of the messengers' arrival; and on the following day the purpose of the colony to protect the fugitives was strengthened, and the general opinion of the pursuers as to the probability of their success was somewhat modified, by a sermon from Davenport himself, from the text "Hide the outcasts; betray not him that wandereth."

1660–4

Regicides sheltered by New Haven

The regicides remained about New Haven until 1664, when the arrival of the four commissioners to the New England colonies caused them to withdraw to Hadley, where they were still among Connecticut friends, for the members of the Hadley church had come from Hartford and Wethersfield. The policy of the Connecticut colony seemed to be to show commendable zeal and diligence for the capture of the fugitives, but we may be sure that every one in the colony knew whatever was done or planned. New Haven was less compliant, more dignified in her action. She let the world see that her heart was not in the business of apprehending the King's judges.

And quietly by Connecticut

In August 1661 Winthrop set sail for England upon the business of the charter, bearing letters to the Earl of Manchester and Lord Say and Sele, both of whom were known to be favorable to the Connecticut colony. Well fitted for his task,—learned, gracious, with much of his father's manner and dignity, but lacking somewhat his father's strength of character and vigor,—the younger

Winthrop after the charter

1661–2

Winthrop was perhaps better fitted than his father would have been to accomplish his object. Especially does this seem true when we consider the peculiar conditions existing in the court circle of the lately restored Charles Stuart. In 1662 the charter was granted.

Connecticut gains her charter

How the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island passed the seals has always been something of a mystery. Connecticut had been an independent commonwealth, and continued so to be under the charter. The only reservation was that common to all charters and patents, that the laws of the colony should not be "contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm of England," but in so far as possible should conform thereto. There was no provision for the transmission of the laws, and there was no expressed right of appeal. The boundaries of the colony as fixed by the charter included the territory of New Haven, some land already occupied by Rhode Island, and territory claimed by Massachusetts. On the west, the boundary was the South Sea; on the north, the limits of the Massachusetts patent; while the boundary on the east, which was disputed with Rhode Island, was arbitrated and settled in England.

Its provisions

The officers of government were to be the governor, deputy-governor, and twelve Assistants, together with a house of deputies consisting of two members from each town. All were to be elected annually by the freemen of the colony. Connecticut owed her good fortune to the favor of such friends as Manchester and Say and Sele; to the tact and

persuasiveness of Winthrop; and not a little to the plans which Clarendon had made for the subjugation of New England, or as he termed it, the stronghold of Puritanism. Probably by New England, Clarendon meant the confederacy; and in the confederacy Massachusetts dominated. Moreover, one of the principal objects of Clarendon's new policy was to re-establish and strengthen the cause of the Established Church. Both Massachusetts and New Haven had granted the franchise only to church members; thus excluding members of the Church of England not only from their right to worship in their own fashion, but from civil privileges as well. If the authorized Church were to flourish, or even exist, this policy must be changed.

1662

Why Connecticut got her charter

The news that the new charter had been granted was first made public at a meeting of the federal commissioners in Boston in September 1662. The commissioners from New Haven had little to say concerning the probable effect of the charter upon that colony. The Connecticut General Court which met in October continued the laws of the colony and the former officers; annexed the New Haven town of Southold, and received overtures from a minority of the inhabitants of Guilford, Greenwich, and Stamford; and appointed a committee to treat with the authorities of New Haven.

At once grasps New Haven towns

The haste with which the Connecticut authorities proceeded to take advantage of the privileges conferred by the new charter placed her in an unfavorable light with her neighbors. Moreover, the

1662-3

majority of the people of New Haven had considered their liberties safe from attack because of the fact that Winthrop was the messenger to England, and because he had not disclosed any intention to undermine or destroy the liberties of New Haven. It is probable, however, that that colony owed its downfall to its peculiar form of government, to the limitation of the franchise, and in some measure to the treatment of the regicides.

New Haven colony struck down

As might have been expected, one of the chief opponents to the union of New Haven with Connecticut was Davenport. He urged that the new charter did not in express terms destroy the autonomy of New Haven, or compel it to a union with Connecticut. The weight of ministerial influence in general was given to this view. On the other hand, it is probable that Leete, the governor, was not averse to the combination of the two colonies. The defects of such a political organization as that of New Haven when compared with her more powerful neighbor, and the practical certainty of an ultimate conflict between such a state and the English government, could hardly fail to be apparent to a man of Leete's temperament and opinion. The people of the little group of towns which constituted the government of New Haven were quickly divided into two parties. The freemen of New Haven, in answer to the overtures of Connecticut for immediate union, requested that decision on the matter be postponed until the return of Winthrop, and that the colonies of the New England confederacy might be consulted.

Internal divisions

Connecticut, however, was not to be turned from her course by request or argument. Whatever may have been the feeling of Winthrop toward the New Haven colony, and whatever may have been his intentions concerning the relations between the two colonies under the charter, it is none the less certain that when that document passed the seals, Winthrop no longer had power to either construe or amend it. When the charter reached Connecticut, its execution was in the hands of men who determined to obtain from it the greatest possible advantage. The influence of the New England confederacy was decreasing. Massachusetts had been first to undermine it by refusing to abide by the decree of a majority of the commissioners. Connecticut, with a distinct object in view, was not disposed to heed the confederacy or to be guided by its advice.

1662–3

Connecticut resolute to absorb New Haven

Winthrop wrote from England that it was not the intention of the charter to conflict with any government then established, and expressed a wish that any hasty action might be recalled. The Connecticut colony, however, was disposed to demand an immediate and complete acceptance of the charter; and as a means to that end, received the submission of other towns belonging to the New Haven jurisdiction, and appointed officers to administer their affairs.

The question was brought before the federal commissioners in a meeting at Boston. Massachusetts complained that Connecticut sought to annex her settlement of Southertown. The Dutch were

1663

offended by the aggressive attitude of Connecticut, and the New Haven colony protested against the attempt upon her independence. The commissioners decided that any act which would deprive New Haven of freedom of action in her own jurisdiction, would be a breach of the articles of confederation. During the unsettled days of the Commonwealth, the union of the New England colonies had been a source of strength and the decrees of the commissioners a power in New England; but those days had passed away, and Connecticut now based her action upon a higher authority, that of the English Crown. New Haven was reduced in fortunes to the lowest ebb. Only three towns adhered to her government, and it was almost impossible to raise sufficient money by taxation to support the financial system, its life-blood.

Confederation upholds New Haven

In June of 1663 New Haven had received a letter from the King concerning the enforcement of the navigation laws. This letter was seized upon at once as a virtual admission of independence. Six months later, New Haven published a declaration calling all those who had denied her jurisdiction to return to their allegiance. When this declaration was published in Guilford, two of the citizens, Rossiter and his son, both of whom had already acknowledged the jurisdiction of Connecticut, went to Hartford, whence they returned with two magistrates and others, who came into the town by night, and made a great disturbance "by shooting off sundry guns" and threatening

Which fights for independence

speeches. Help from other towns was called for, but in the end the schemes of Connecticut prevailed. 1663–4

Early in January 1664, the General Court of New Haven convened, and Governor Leete proposed a conference with the Connecticut authorities. The court refused, however, to withdraw their declaration or to confer with Connecticut; though the latter colony proposed, as a preliminary to negotiation, that the previous condition of independence should be everywhere restored. Before the March meeting of the General Court, the New Haven ministers, Davenport and Street, had drawn up an able defense of New Haven's position, in a pamphlet called "New Haven's Case Stated." In this they argued that the independence was guaranteed by Winthrop's promise, and supported by the fact that no definite royal statement had ever abolished the independence of that colony, and that the position of Connecticut could be secured only by the broadest possible construction of the charter. To this the Connecticut colony made no reply, since indeed there was no reply to be made. She did not desist, however, in her attempt to reap the advantages given by the royal patent, and in this she received help from an unexpected quarter.

New Haven refuses to confer on its independence

Davenport and Street's pamphlet

The King's commissioners, Nicholls, Maverick, Cartright, and Carr, arrived in New England with instructions to determine disputes and regulate the administration of colonial affairs. Two things especially the commissioners were to endeavor to

Royal commissioners arrive

1664

Programme of royal commissioners

bring about: the appointment of governors by the Crown, or, failing in that, royal approval of colonial elections, and the union of the militia under a general officer to be nominated and appointed by the King. As a means of achieving these results, one method proposed was the granting of new charters or the renewal of old patents under a modified form. Further instructions are worth noting as an evidence of the limits placed upon the action of the commissioners. They were to make no final judgments as to bounds or limits of the colonies unless both parties could agree, or unless such limits and bounds were plainly defined by charter.

They were to determine also the relations between the colonies and the Indians, and to examine into the condition of Indian schools and missions. They were not to admit any complaint against a colony unless it appeared that there had been some action contrary to the provisions of the charter, nor were they to hear appeals except in cases where it appeared evident that there had been violation of some grant or of the law of England.

Members of the Established Church were to be supported in their claims to unmolested services, and civil rights were to be insisted upon. Finally, the commissioners were to seek for persons charged with treason, but were not to listen over-attentively to clamors against the colonial governments. Especially they were to beware of people who were anxious to help advance the King's cause by professing great enmity against the local government peculiar to New England.

The capture of New York, and the royal grant which extended the boundaries of that province to the Connecticut River, was to New Haven even more unpleasant than a union with Connecticut could possibly be; better submission to their friends, better acquiescence in a form of free government, than subjection to a Catholic Duke of York.

1664

New Haven must join New York or Connecticut

When the matter was placed before the New Haven Assembly in this light, it was agreed to submit to the Hartford government until the meeting of the confederacy of the New England colonies. This meeting was held at Hartford in 1664. The federal commissioners were still of the opinion that New Haven was right in the controversy with Connecticut, but the union was advised; and preliminary to the absorption of New Haven by Connecticut, two commissioners were to be appointed to represent the United Colonies. The New England confederacy struggled hard to maintain its ascendency, but without avail. They proposed that the confederacy should be notified of intended visits of the royal commissioners to the various colonies, in order that federal commissioners might be appointed to confer with them in any case that might be of common interest to the whole of New England. So impressed, however, were the members of the confederacy with the weakness of that organization, that it was resolved to meet thereafter only once in three years.

Chooses Connecticut provisionally

Confederacy growing weaker

In October 1664, messengers from the General Court of Connecticut were sent to the several towns

1664–5 of the New Haven colony to declare that the privileges of freemen of Connecticut had been extended to citizens of New Haven, and that the towns in the latter jurisdiction would be considered a part of the Connecticut government upon the appointment of local magistrates.

Connecticut settles boundary with New York

The following month, the governor and secretary of the Connecticut colony paid a visit to New York, where they met the royal commissioners and determined the south and west bounds of Connecticut. By this agreement, Long Island became a part of the possessions of the Duke of York. The west boundary of Connecticut was to be a line drawn north-northwest from the mouth of Mamaroneck Creek to the Massachusetts line.

New Haven gives up fight

On the 13th of December, the General Court of the New Haven colony met, and decided to unite with the colony of Connecticut; formally stating, however, that by such action they surrendered none of their claims, nor did they justify the action of the Connecticut colony.

Terms of union

By the following spring, many of the vestiges of the dispute had disappeared. Deputies were received from most of the towns which had been previously under the government of New Haven. The people of Branford, however, would not submit; but with their pastor, Abraham Pierson, removed to Newark, now in the State of New Jersey. Four of the New Haven magistrates were made Assistants of Connecticut, and the privileges of citizenship were extended to all the inhabitants of the newly constituted government. The union

was now complete; the principles for which New Haven had contended so long were lost for good. But while the union was displeasing to that colony, and much disliked by many of the best men even of Connecticut, the united colony fared far better under the rules of the Hartford government than would have been possible for New Haven under its Mosaic code. Moreover, it was much better adapted to meet attacks from the royal commission, and to engage in the work of building up a permanent commonwealth under the new charter, than when disunited.

Union of colonies advantageous

In 1666 an English invasion of New France was planned, and Governor Nicholls of New York appealed to Connecticut for assistance. The colony, in common with the rest of the New England group, insisted upon the control of its own militia, and answered that no men could be spared from the harvest work; that the union of the Connecticut men with the New York militia would mean fighting for and with the Mohawks, who were the traditional enemies of the Connecticut Indians, and moreover, that the overland march to Albany would be a long and dangerous one.

Suspicion of New York designs

It was not the custom, however, for the colony of Connecticut to be unmindful of its duties. In this case a small body of horse, intended to be used for scouting purposes, was sent to Albany to assist in the movement against the French. Moreover, a committee was appointed to call out the militia in case of need; and the governor was directed to consult with Sir William Temple, the

1673 royal commissioner of the territory of Kennebec, and with the government of Massachusetts, concerning the proposed campaign.

New England hesitates to act with New York

As a matter of general policy, the New England colonies were inclined to act upon the defensive, and also to revive the New England confederacy for that purpose. The difficulties involved in a campaign beyond their borders, and the probabilities of failure, were weighed carefully, and compared with the small advantages which would accrue to them even in the case of a successful expedition. While they were thus debating, the treaty of peace was signed, and all necessity for action was removed.

Dutch again in New York

With the recapture of New York by the Dutch, the English towns on the east end of Long Island which had formerly been united to Connecticut refused to surrender to the conquerors, wishing to transfer their allegiance where it had formerly been. The Dutch had spared the New England colonies, possibly from a hope that in the disturbed relations existing between them and England, some alliance might be formed. The colony of Connecticut, however, had no mind for such a union. The Dutch were commanded to desist from attempts to capture colonial vessels, and were ordered to make no descents upon the coast. Connecticut levied a force of five hundred dragoons, with which she prepared to defend her borders.

A special meeting of the commissioners of the New England confederacy was held at Hartford

in August 1673. Here active measures were recommended to repel invasions. Massachusetts, however, was not inclined to take an active part in the movement, other than to provide for her own safety. Later in the year, however, the Bay colony raised a force of six hundred men and commissioned two officers to repress the insolence of the Dutch. In December, Connecticut threatened to invade the Dutch province, and to dictate her demands in the Dutch headquarters,—a threat which provoked the reply that the Dutch might have Hartford ere long. Commissioners from Connecticut met others from New Amsterdam at Southold, in order to decide the question of allegiance. There the people gathered under arms and unanimously rejected the demands of the Dutch, who speedily saw that they were likely to do more harm than good, and withdrew to New Amsterdam. In February 1674 four Dutch vessels came to Southold, and renewed their demands for surrender. This time they found a force under Fitz-John Winthrop. A summons to surrender under penalty of fire and sword resulted only in a few scattered shots, by which no one was injured. The Dutch then withdrew and desisted from their attempts.

1673–4

New England and anti-Dutch action

Dutch feeble in aggressiveness

In May the news of the peace—as it chanced, a final one—between Holland and England reached the colonies, and on July 7 New Amsterdam became New York again. Upon the 10th of November, Sir Edmund Andros arrived as governor of the restored territory.

1674 The second patent to the Duke of York established the same boundaries that had marked the previous grant, before these boundaries were changed by the royal commissioners in 1664. In other words, the patent included the territory from Connecticut River to Delaware Bay. Andros now prepared to make the most of his claims, and a formal demand was issued for the surrender of the land included in the last patent. To this demand the General Court of Connecticut replied that the matter had been settled ten years before, and that they had no power under their charter to reopen the question.

New York again claims Western Connecticut

In the mean time some account of the disorder prevailing among the Indians east of the Connecticut River reached the ears of Andros, who was much troubled by the people being overpowered by such heathen, and he proposed to come to Connecticut to right matters. This was the last thing the colony wanted or expected, inasmuch as the letter which contained the news of Andros' benevolent intentions also referred to the Connecticut River as the bounds of the Duke of York's territory.

And uses Indian troubles as pretext

Captain Bull with one hundred men was sent to garrison Saybrook, and the General Court resolved to protect the good people of the colony from the said Major Andros' attempts. Bull had been instructed to advise Andros to use his force against the Narragansett Indians; to allow Andros to land his men, but without arms and for a short time only. Moreover, Captain Bull was to keep

Connecticut arms against Andros

the King's colors standing under his Majesty's lieutenant, the governor of Connecticut, and to allow no others to be raised; he was not to strike the first blow, but, if attacked, was to do his best "to secure his Majesty's interest and the peace of the whole colony." 1674–5

The meeting turned out to be a thoroughly courteous affair; Andros read the Duke's patent and his own commission, to which the Connecticut officers gave little or no heed. Thereupon the Duke's representative proposed to sail immediately unless he was desired to stay; but the Connecticut men had no order to desire him to stay, and, heartily wishing him elsewhere, detained him only long enough to read the protest of the General Court, which Andros thought a slander and a poor reward for his services. The whole episode was an attempt upon Andros' part to secure by peaceable means the acknowledgment of the Duke of York's claim to the lands as far as the Connecticut River. Beyond this, neither the Duke nor Andros was prepared to go. In Connecticut the people generally approved the action of Bull, but regretted that Andros had not been interrupted, "which might have been done by shouts, or sound of drum, without violence"—a hint not lost upon the then rising generation. **Andros and Bull at Saybrook**

King Philip's War, which wrought such havoc over a great part of New England, was happily stayed at the Connecticut border. This result was due in part to the wise dealing of the colony with the Indians within her borders, and in part to the **Value of legal technicalities**

1675

constant vigilance of the authorities. Fully a seventh of the Connecticut militia was constantly employed in the field, beside the force necessary to guard the settlements. Towns were protected by palisades, and garrison-houses built, to which the women, children, and aged men might resort in time of danger. The friendly Indians within the colony, the Mohegans and the Pequot remnant, protected the inland towns from the inroads of the enemy, and performed effective scouting services, which prevented surprises. There was no great loss of men save in the attack upon the Narragansett fort; but that made up terribly the score of fate—out of the three hundred Connecticut troops engaged, one hundred and eighty were wounded or slain. Of them the Colonial Assembly said afterward, "There died many brave officers and sentinels, whose memory is blessed and whose death redeemed our lives. The bitter cold, the tarled swamp, the tedious march, the strong fort, the numerous and stubborn enemies they contended with, for their God, king, and country, be their trophies over death. Our mourners over all the colony witness for our men that they were not unfaithful in that day."

Connecticut in King Philip's War

Fearful loss at Narragansett fort

Legislature's eulogy

In 1676 Governor John Winthrop died while on a visit to Boston. He had been connected with the colony from its inception, and had been governor continually from 1659. His services to the colony were many; and not the least among them was his influence in determining its moderate course, which, with a few exceptions, so

Death of younger Winthrop

JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

strongly distinguishes the history of Connecticut from that of Massachusetts. 1673–5

While the struggle with the Indians was in progress, the English government was maturing its plans for the further reduction of New England. There was much question as to the exact method of procedure. It was feared that any show of temper or severity would lead Massachusetts, at least, to break at once and finally with the mother country. In general, a conciliatory course was favored; and a single deputy was sent out to investigate, and inform the authorities in England of the conditions which existed in the colonies.

England feels its way in subduing New England

In 1675 the old claims of Gorges and Mason were revived; and the complaints of English merchants that the laws of trade and navigation were violated, became constant. By a failure to observe these laws, it was held that the colonies were failing in their true end of promoting the wealth and trade of the mother country. Englishmen had said that the independence of the colonies was due to the form of their charters, and the long indulgence with which they had been favored by the home government.

Sore over ignoring of navigation laws

In 1673 duties were assessed in the colonies upon coastwise trade, and these revenues were to be collected by officers appointed by the royal commissioners of customs. In the following year, it was decided that goods which had paid these coastwise duties must also pay other duties if carried to other than English ports.

1675–8

During the year 1675-6, the Lords of Trade deliberated upon the question of Massachusetts. When peace had been made with the Dutch, fear of the union between Massachusetts and the Dutch colonies was removed. The Dutch were still at war with the French, and the colonies, moreover, were weakened by the long struggle with the Indians. It was therefore an opportune time for the enforcement of the ideas of the King and the Board of Trade. A special messenger was sent out to investigate, and report upon the conditions of colonial trade, and upon the sentiments and opinions existing among the people of the colony. This messenger was Edward Randolph, for the next fifteen years an active figure in New England politics, a detested instrument of royal policy. His experience in Massachusetts has been related in another chapter.

Lords of Trade consider Massachusetts' contumacy

Edward Randolph sent out

Randolph professed himself to be well satisfied with the attitude of Connecticut, though he had not been within the limits of the colony. They were, he said, very loyal and good people, who expressed great love to the person and government of his Majesty. All freemen, as well as officers, took the oath of allegiance. There were few merchants, and most of their goods were imported through Boston. The country was fertile, and abounded in corn, cattle, and horses. The navigation laws were duly observed.

Lashes Massachusetts by praising Connecticut

In 1678 the General Court of Connecticut drafted an address to the King, acknowledging the greatness of his power as a source of terror

to their heathen enemies, but especially thanking him for his gracious conduct to them with respect to their colonial boundaries and their charter. They promised to enforce the royal laws of trade, and appointed officers for that purpose within the several counties. Whatever assistance Edward Randolph might desire as commissioner of customs, the colony would freely give.

1678–85

Connecticut lavish of promises

The last meeting of the commissioners of the New England confederacy was held at Hartford in 1684. Clearly the old order had passed away. With increased population, resources, and trade, there had been a corresponding increase of personal ease and luxury. The younger generation was spared the tribulations which had produced the narrow, vigorous, self-reliant, resourceful forefathers. They began to take greater interest in the affairs of the outside world. They were lacking in that lively sense of sin committed, and in the habit of introspection, which led to so much of the mental and spiritual uneasiness of the earlier race. The last meeting of the confederacy was for, and the last act was, the appointment of a day of fasting and prayer, that they might bewail "those rebukes and threatenings from heaven under which they rested."

End of Confederacy

With the accession of James II., the plans formed against New England were pressed to a culmination. Randolph, on his return to England, had petitioned for writs of *quo warranto* against Rhode Island and Connecticut. About the time that Randolph's charges were presented,

James II. lifts the rod

1675–6

the addresses of the Connecticut court to the King, praying for a continuance of royal favor, and expressing their gratitude for the promises of toleration which had been made to them, were laid before the successor of Charles II. The general charges against Connecticut were, that they made laws contrary to those of England; that they required an oath of fidelity to the colony, while they neglected that of supremacy and allegiance to the King; that the worship after the manner of the Church of England was forbidden, and that men of known loyalty were excluded from the government, which was in the hands of the Independent party. These charges were for the most part distorted; but upon them, proceedings for the writ were based.

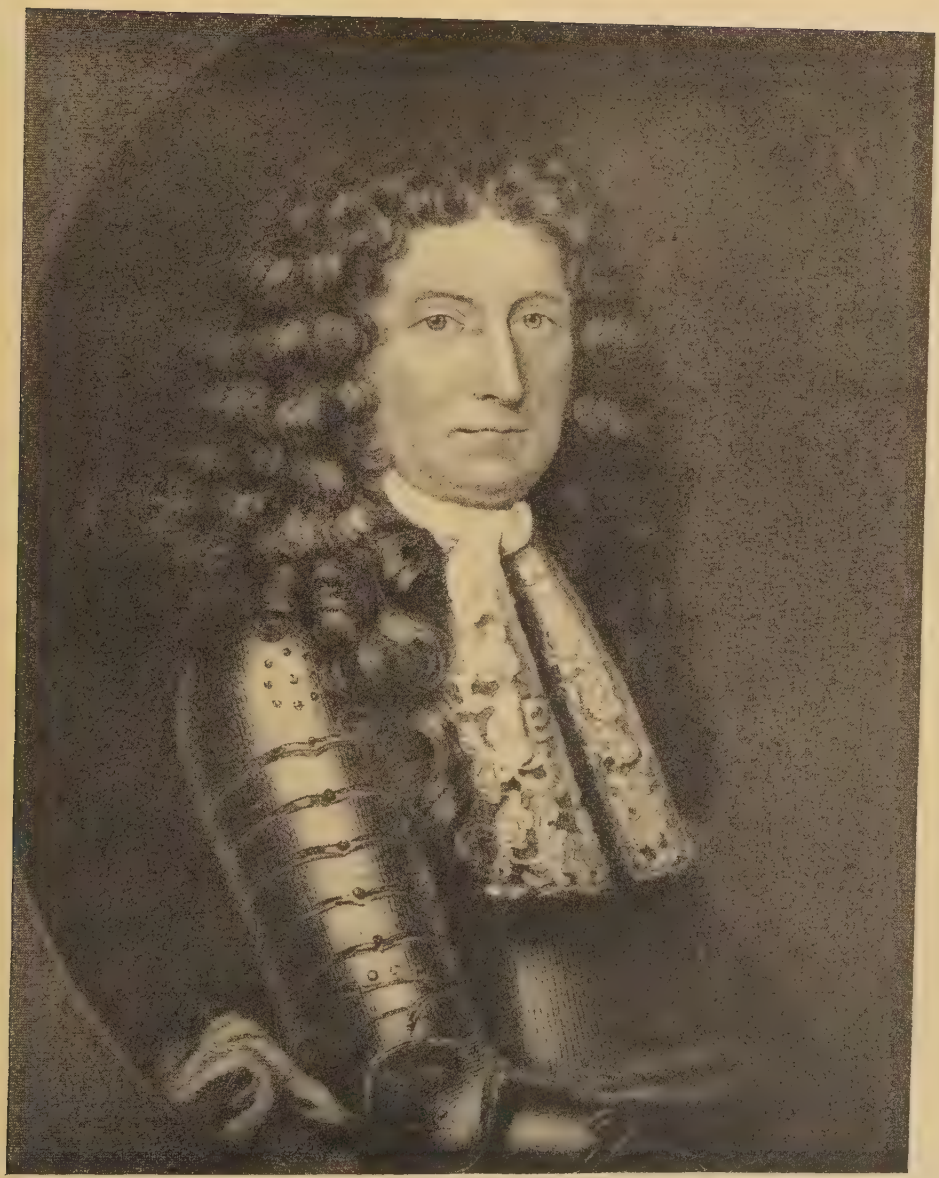
Randolph's indictment against Connecticut

In May of 1686, Randolph informed the government of Connecticut that he was intrusted with a writ, and advised an humble submission on the part of the colony; intimating that a refusal might lead to a forcible union with New York, and informing them that no advantage was to be obtained by delay.

Writes ugly letter to it

The colony of Connecticut, however, was not accustomed to submission, and was not unduly alarmed by Randolph's threats, nor was it to be urged into hasty action. An address to the King was drafted, praying for the continuance of their liberties. If Connecticut was to lose her independent government, her territory might well be united with either that of Massachusetts or New York. In the crisis, Connecticut began to draw

Which does not flurry it



SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

near to the latter colony, intimating that if the colony was to fall, it might "fall westward as easily as eastward." In the mean time the good offices of Governor Dongan of New York were solicited. As a matter of fact, Connecticut was playing her old game of waiting and watching until a favorable time to carry out her plans. She had no more desire for a union with New York than for one with Massachusetts. As the time for the appearance of the colony before the English courts had elapsed before the service of the writ, the agents of the colony in London were instructed to make the most of this advantage. There was but little probability that the loss of the charter could be averted, but the the attempt was at least worth making.

1686

Connecticut fences with writ against charter

In December 1686, Sir Edmund Andros arrived in Boston with his commission for the government of all New England. Assuming the charter to be annulled, all privileges under it fell to the ground. Connecticut could be governed by the Crown as seemed convenient and proper. Andros himself was not especially sanguine as to the results of the contest with respect to the charter of Connecticut. In the latter part of December 1686, he wrote Governor Treat from Rhode Island that he was "commissioned and authorized by the King to receive the surrender of the charter and to take the people into his care and charge." The colony was informed that another writ had been issued, and that prompt compliance with the governor's demands would be of great benefit to them.

Andros writes to have charter surrendered

1687

Connecticut rejoined by protesting in another address to the King, but promised submission in case a determination had been reached. The spring and summer of 1687 were spent in courteous correspondence, but the colony was determined to hold out till the last.

Andros tries coaxing first

Meanwhile, Andros' agents were exerting themselves to the utmost to secure submission on the part of Connecticut. They visited the various towns, where they reported a favorable reception, but found the people so foolishly fond of their charter that they were determined to remain passive rather than to take any active steps in the matter of submission.

Goes to take up charter

In October, the settlement of Massachusetts had progressed so far that Andros felt free to go to Connecticut to assume the government of that colony. He arrived on the evening of October 31st, where he was "greeted and caressed by the governor and his Assistants." The same evening a conference was held, and the charter was produced, preparatory to its surrender. Suddenly the lights were extinguished and the charter seized by some member, passed to young Joseph Wadsworth waiting outside, and tradition says hidden for a short time in an oak known ever afterwards as the "Charter Oak."

Assumes control

The following morning the governor took possession of the colonial machinery, and appointed some of the colonial officers as members of his council. Connecticut became a part of the government of Sir Edmund Andros. The record of the

meeting, in the handwriting of Secretary Allyn, the most accomplished politician of his day in Connecticut, ended with the word *finis*. The last of the New England colonies had fallen before the consolidation scheme of James II. Andros remained long enough in Connecticut to establish courts, appoint sheriffs, and commission the old assistants to be justices of the peace, as well as to appoint military and customs officers.

1687-9

Andros constitutes new government

With the news of the deposition of Andros, in 1689, the re-establishment of the Connecticut government under the charter became a matter of immediate discussion. A meeting of a large number of the freemen took place on the 8th of May, when it was decided to resume the former government under the officers who were in power at the time of the usurpation of Andros. All laws formerly enacted and courts formerly constituted were to serve until the General Court should see reasons for making a change. The governor was directed to convene the Assembly in case the question of a charter for the colony should come up, and a day of fasting was proclaimed.

Old government restored on his overthrow

In June the colony received news of the accession of William and Mary, who were proclaimed with joy. A congratulatory address was sent, praying for the ratification and confirmation of the former charter.

William asked to confirm charter

The revolution in England brought few dangers to the colony of Connecticut. While the charter was never formally reconfirmed, an opinion of the law officers of the Crown held that it remained

1689–93

good and valid, since no judgment of record had been entered against it. The chief jealousy on the part of the English government arose from the fact that there was no way by which the appointment of the colonial governors could be influenced, and consequently unity in action of the colonies was impossible. The colonies, however, were quite right in resisting union this early: it would have sacrificed their individuality.

Charter pronounced valid

Contrariwise, it was rendered desirable by the Indian and French wars, in which it became of decided advantage to consolidate the militia under a single officer. Connecticut, however, always contributed her militia when so requested by the Crown. In 1689 she sent two hundred men under Fitz-John Winthrop to help Leisler at Albany. In 1690 Connecticut joined in the attempt against Montreal, in connection with Sir William Phips' expedition against Quebec. The colonial troops reached the rendezvous at the south end of Lake Champlain: but the Indian allies did not appear; the boats for transportation were not furnished, and provisions were lacking, through the inefficiency of Milbourne the commissary-general. Under these conditions, retreat was the only thing left.

Connecticut in Indian wars

In 1693, Governor Fletcher of New York attempted to take command of the militia of the colony, in pursuance of his instructions. The magistrates asked him to suspend action until the case could be heard in England; but Fletcher persisted in going to Hartford, where he attempted to have his commission read to the troops. There

Fletcher tries to command its militia

FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP, GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT.

is a tradition that Captain Wadsworth, of Charter Oak fame, was in command that day. When the reading of the commission began, Wadsworth ordered the drums to beat. Fletcher commanded silence, and the reading proceeded. Wadsworth again ordered the drums to be beaten, and turning to Fletcher, threatened to "make the sun shine through him" if the reading was again attempted. Whether this story be true or not, it is certain that Fletcher went to Hartford on that errand, and that he went away angry and baffled by the failure of his mission.

1693–1700

Wadsworth and Fletcher

Fletcher's claim to command the militia of the colony resulted in a visit of Fitz-John Winthrop to England, where the strength of the colonial argument was recognized by the Council, and a compromise effected whereby the control over the militia was limited to one hundred and twenty men at all times during war, with the general limitation that Connecticut's quota was to be in proportion to that of the other colonies.

Connecticut retains control of its militia

In 1698 the legislature of Connecticut was divided into two branches, each with a negative upon the acts of the other. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Connecticut was the most happy and prosperous of the New England colonies. There were thirty towns, each with its school and church. The colonists, while not wealthy, were in no danger of poverty. Expenses had been kept at a minimum; prosperity was widely diffused among the people; and there was but little danger to be apprehended from interference on

Connecticut in 1750

1689–1714

the part of England. The franchise had been extended in 1689 to all reputable persons twenty-one years of age, who possessed a freehold estate of forty shillings a year. In 1700 there were 3100 tax-payers in the colony.

Franchise democratized

Provisions were made for schools and the support of ministers from the public funds. Four schools were endowed with public lands. The purpose of these schools was to prepare young men for college, and in 1701 a collegiate institution was established. The people of Connecticut desired a college nearer home than the institution at Cambridge. Moreover, Harvard was beginning to show decided tendencies toward a departure from the strict rule laid down for it by its founders. A more orthodox form was desired. In 1700 ten ministers met at Branford, and from their libraries contributed forty folio volumes to found a college. In 1701 the college was incorporated under a body of trustees, no more than eleven or fewer than seven, and all to be clergymen at least forty years of age. An annual grant of £120 in country pay was made, which was equivalent to half as much in sterling money. The students were to be exempt from military service and taxation. The first site of the college was at Saybrook, and eight students were at first enrolled. The first two classes graduated one each; the third, three. Such were the beginnings of Yale University.

Yale College founded

The population of Connecticut in 1714 numbered about 25,000, for the most part living in

thirty-eight towns. There were forty-three ministers in the colony. Many of the churches were small; due to the fact that the settlements and the church, in the beginning, were one. It was the usual case for church fellowship to exist before settlement, and most early towns were begun by the division and separation of churches. In many town records, as at the beginning of the Massachusetts Bay settlement, among the first entries are provisions for the minister's house and his salary.

Church and town at first the same

According to the code of 1650, taxes were levied for the support of the churches as well as the civil government. No new church could be established without the consent of the neighboring churches and the permission of the General Court. Thus it happened that many who had no part in the recognized churches, and who could not satisfy the church authorities that they were orthodox, were compelled to pay taxes for the support of an institution in whose benefits they might not share. Moreover, the examination of the intending members of the church was a momentous affair. A public statement, supplemented by a more or less rigid cross-examination, made the ordeal of admission an unpleasant one to many. The regulation of private affairs by the church, even in minute details, led many to prefer living outside the organization. Therefore, in Massachusetts, a large percentage were neither members of the church nor freemen of the colony. Even in Connecticut, where the same qualification was not

Churches supported by public taxes

Growing body of outsiders

required, the freemen who were not members of a church threatened to outnumber those who were. It became necessary to extend the franchise, therefore, by some means which would not break down the strength of the ecclesiastical organization.

Church franchise too narrow

In 1657 a council or synod of the New England churches convened in Boston, and there adopted a compromise known as the Half-way Covenant, which was expected to produce the desired results. It was, in brief, a plan by which children of church members baptized in infancy became by that rite members of the church, and were to be so recognized if they were of godly life and conversation and understood the doctrines of the church. Baptism, church membership, and hence in Massachusetts citizenship, might not be denied the children of such parents. This agreement was bitterly opposed, especially by the churches of the New Haven jurisdiction. The general result of it was to increase church membership, in time to modify the internal working of the church, and eventually to affect doctrine not a little.

The Half-way Covenant

In 1706 the Church of England made its first appearance in Connecticut. Its members naturally objected to paying taxes for the support of the Congregational establishment, and asked to pay them to their own. The Connecticut authorities were not destitute of fairness, and at first by tacit permission, then by a formal act in 1727, allowed the taxes paid for church support to be transferred to the Episcopal organization. This act was

Church of England in Connecticut

extended, two years later, to the Quakers and Baptists. Persons who were not members of any church, however, were still taxed for the support of the recognized ecclesiastical establishment. 1702

England again declared war against France in 1702. Forces were raised in Connecticut to co-operate in the campaign against the Eastern Indians, where troops were collected to guard the exposed frontiers. Assistance was demanded frequently by the government of Massachusetts and New York. The governors of these provinces, Joseph Dudley, and the Queen's disreputable cousin Lord Cornbury, were planning to extend their own territories at the expense of Rhode Island and Connecticut. Though foiled in their first attempt, they were men not easily discouraged, and returned repeatedly to the attack. To give color to their complaints, Gershom Bulkeley's *Will and Doom,* which had been written chiefly to justify the government of Andros, was brought from obscurity, in which it seemed likely to rest deservedly, and used to further the purposes of the plotters. It was with difficulty that the colonial agents were able to postpone action upon these charges; and final success was due probably to the fact that the statements were so extreme that the colony had no trouble in disproving many of them, thus throwing doubt upon the rest.

Church taxes fairly apportioned

Massachusetts and New York assail Connecticut

Times of war are in general accompanied by deterioriation of public morals and a blunting of the national conscience. So it seemed to the people of Connecticut in the reign of Queen Anne.

1708

Church "Old Guard" take alarm

Many plans were proposed to remedy the evil. Provisions were made for the more thorough education of the young. Severe penalties were established for minor offenses; dissoluteness and idleness, the mothers of all vices, were especially condemned. There was a feeling, too, that church discipline had become lax, and that the reform should begin with the ecclesiastical organization, particularist by its very nature.

The Saybrook Platform

A meeting of the colonial churches was held at Saybrook in 1708, where a system of church discipline was adopted, known thereafter as the Saybrook Platform. The discipline of the church and its general management were vested in a body of representatives chosen by the different groups of churches. The churches in each county formed a consociation for the control of local church affairs, and the representatives of the various consociations formed the directing body of the church. The immediate effect was to strengthen the whole system, to do away with the loose semi-dependent relation which had prevailed previously, and to place all power in the hands of the established churches. In time the system became rigid, and threatened to destroy the spirituality, vigor, and freedom of action of the church itself. The people were now a century removed from the days of the Puritan Fathers; they were of a different time, reared in a different atmosphere. There was a tendency to substitute morality for strict religious form, to lay less stress upon literal interpretation, to think and act more broadly.

A history of New England during the eighteenth century would be incomplete without some account of the famous revival of religion known as the "Great Awakening," which swept through the colonies from about 1730 to 1742. Nor was the movement confined to the colonies alone. Morals and religion in England were at a low ebb. The advantages and privileges of the higher church offices were destructive of spiritual life and growth. Religion was mixed with politics and more or less managed by political methods, the customary condition of a state church. Among the lower clergy the salaries were so small, and conditions so discouraging, that even faith and good works were starved into hopeless inactivity. The church had ceased to minister to the spiritual needs of the masses. These were the days of the Wesleyan movement, which found its counterpart in the work of Jonathan Edwards and Gilbert Tennant in America.

1727–34

Causes of "Great Awakening"

Same as of Wesleyan movement

The revival movement began in various places and times. A minister of Northampton, Massachusetts, was blessed with "five harvests," his conversions being chiefly among the young. The great earthquake of October 29, 1727, was looked upon as a divine warning. Days of fasting and prayer followed. Men began a searching self-examination, and naturally were appalled by their discoveries.

Preluded by revivals, etc.

A peculiar sickness, especially fatal to children, swept New England in 1734, and was regarded as another evidence of divine displeasure.

1740–5

"Great Awakening" begins

The "Great Awakening" began at Northampton in 1740 in the church of Jonathan Edwards, who called the movement a "great and earnest concern about the things of religion and of the external world." Business was neglected. People talked only of religion.

From Western Massachusetts the movement spread to Connecticut, where it was very generally diffused, and thence to Rhode Island. Here, as might have been expected, it took on many erratic forms, due to the peculiar characteristics of the people. The system of lectures, which had fallen into abeyance, was revived. The people could not get preaching enough, and followed the ministers from town to town. Hither came that religious firebrand of the eighteenth century, George Whitefield, in the interest of his Georgian Orphans, and was joyfully received by Edwards and his congregation. Two men more unlike than Whitefield and Edwards have rarely met upon the same platform. Whitefield was a natural orator, a man of magnificent presence, great personal magnetism, thoroughly versed in all the ways of pleasing declamation and address. Edwards was an intellectual giant and scholar, thinker, metaphysician, and philosopher, but melancholy, reserved, and without rhetorical graces. Whitefield himself bore testimony to Edwards' power by the statement that he "had not seen his fellow in all New England."

Whitefield

As frequently happens, the "great awakening" was not an unmixed good. There are persons to be found in every community who are not

YALE COLLEGE IN 1763.

far removed from a state of mental irresponsibility, and these are the first to become victims of religious excitement. The country was speedily filled with peripatetic fanatics, followers of the "new light," to whose enthusiasm, fanaticism, and vagaries there was no limit. Finally, a law against unlicensed churches had to be invoked, to check the evils likely to result from the over-excited condition of the public mind.

Evils of "Great Awakening"

Meanwhile the college at Saybrook had passed through many trials. In 1716 it was removed to New Haven, and soon after received its first bequest of £400 from Elihu Yale. Timothy Cutler became rector of the institution, but after four years of successful administration went over to the Church of England, leaving the college without a head. From the time of its removal to New Haven, however, the success of the institution was assured. Men like Thomas Clapp, Ezra Stiles, and Timothy Dwight laid broad and secure foundations for the noble structure which has been built in after years.

Yale College

After Harvard College began that departure from the strict tenets of the faith of the fathers, which caused such distress to the Mathers and their friends, Yale became the seat of Puritan orthodoxy, and a mighty force in politics as well as religion.

A political force

During the almost unbroken warfare of the first half of the eighteenth century, Connecticut furnished her proportion of men and supplies, and in doing so was obliged to resort to paper

money. The evil effect of the system was never so wide-spread or serious in Connecticut as in many of the other colonies. The expenses of government were small, the people were frugal and industrious, and the law-makers of Connecticut saw to it that plans for speedy redemption of paper currency were made and kept.

Paper currency

One thousand men joined the ill-fated expedition against Cartagena. Scarcely one hundred returned. Eleven hundred took part in the capture of Louisbourg, and the colony played no inconsiderable part in the events of the French and Indian War.

Like Rhode Island, Connecticut opposed the plan of union formulated by the Albany Congress. She had no mind to surrender any of her charter privileges, and these must have been seriously endangered by any form of general government.

Military action

In many ways the history of Connecticut reveals that colony as from first to last the most conservative, consistent, and uniformly successful of all the English establishments in America. They gave much thought to politics and to public policy, and seemed singularly slow at times; but when necessity demanded, they were just and accurate in their judgment and effective in the execution of their plans.

Opposes Albany plans

CHAPTER XXVIII.

RHODE ISLAND TO THE ALBANY CONGRESS

1660

The restoration of Charles II. found Rhode Island's agent John Clarke in London, whither he had gone to procure the revocation of the patent by virtue of which Coddington had usurped the government of Newport; with instructions to take such action as he might think proper to preserve the privileges, liberties, boundaries, and immunities of the province. Moreover, the return of the King caused in Rhode Island far less apprehension than in the other New England colonies. These "despised outcasts," as they styled themselves, had never had the others' motives for escaping control, had more than once taken refuge under the shadow of royal influence, and now might hope for effective protection through it.

Does not fear Restoration

Struggle with Connecticut

There were, however, powerful interests at work to frustrate their wishes and efforts. Chief among these were the claims of other colonies to lands within the limits of Rhode Island. John Winthrop was urging forward the cause of Connecticut, and the charter of that colony was ready to pass the seals, when the Rhode Island agent protested on the ground that the limits of Connecticut fixed by that instrument infringed upon the rights of Rhode Island. The Connecticut

1660–3

charter established as the eastern limits of that colony the "Narragansett [Providence] River," and thus excluded her weaker neighbor from lands purchased by it from the Indians and already occupied.

Atherton Company

The Atherton Company, of which Winthrop was also a member, claimed a tract twelve miles long on the west side of the bay, also by virtue of an Indian purchase. Its members preferred to live under the jurisdiction of Connecticut rather than of Rhode Island, and the charter given to Winthrop had granted this privilege. Clarke protested against this with all the resources at his disposal, and to such effect that Winthrop agreed to the appointment of a board of arbitration. By its finding, the Pawcatuck River was to be the dividing line between the colonies, and to be the official interpretation of "Narragansett" River in all cases where the latter was mentioned in legal papers. The contention of the Atherton Company was sustained by a confirmation of the right to choose the government to which they would belong.

Settlement of boundary question

Unsavory Atherton agents

Through all these negotiations, tangled threads of intrigue and personal interest run. The names of Tom Chaffinch, a purveyor to the base desires of the most dissolute element of the court, and John Scott, a master of the deceptive art for personal gain, are associated with those of Winthrop and Daniel Denison, in this effort to establish firmly the rights of the Atherton Company. The King, hearing that these "beloved subjects" and others were disturbed daily in their possessions by

THE GOVERNOR ARTHUR FENNER HOUSE
AT CRANSTON, R. I.

the "turbulent spirits" of Rhode Island, recommended the Atherton Company to the care and protection of the New England Confederation. For the honor of Winthrop's reputation, it must be said that he probably knew nothing of the means by which this letter was obtained, or indeed of the intention to obtain it; for if the terms of the letter were complied with, the provisions of the Rhode Island charter would have been contradicted and in some degree nullified.

1660–3

Winthrop in bad company

Moreover, the knowledge of colonial geography in England was meagre in the extreme. Distances, directions, and locations were hopelessly mixed. This alone might account for the contradictory action of the King, who, if he cared enough about the matter to give it a thought, probably believed that he was not infringing upon the charter granted to Clarke as the agent of Rhode Island. Meanwhile the charter had been signed July 8, 1663, and reached the colony in the autumn of the same year.

English ignorance of America

On the 24th of November, 1663, a "very great meeting and assembly of the freemen of the colony of Providence Plantations at Newport" was convened for the "solemn reception of his Majesty's gratious letters pattent." The box containing the charter was opened, the document read, and then held up to the view of all the people, that each might see the royal seal affixed. Henceforth the colony had a legal basis and groundwork, which enabled it to withstand attacks from without and to deal with no less dangerous disorders arising

Rhode Island charter

among themselves. The charter extended to every
1663 portion of the colony the only authority which the colonists were willing to accept, the authority of the Crown of England. Brenton and Coddington, Gorton and Williams were among those mentioned in the charter as recipients of the patent and executors of its provisions.

The document enumerated the reasons for the founding of Rhode Island, and told something of its past history. Religious differences, the exile from the Bay colony, the missionary spirit which led the founders into the Indian country, the purchase of lands from the natives, the "excessive labor and travail, hazard and charge" under which the colony had been formed—all these were duly recorded, and the advantages likely to accrue to England and her colonies were emphasized. After this preamble the King proceeded to grant a charter fully as remarkable as that of Connecticut, securing to the inhabitants of Rhode Island the free exercise of their civil rights and customs, and confirming the principle of religious toleration. It was expressly provided that no person should be "in anywise called in question, molested, punished, or disquieted for any differences of opinion in matters of religion," so long as the civil peace of the colony was not disturbed. Thus the principle of religious toleration upon which the Providence settlement had been founded was confirmed by the supreme power.

Provisions of charter

The government was vested in a governor, a deputy, and ten Assistants, to be chosen by the

THE CODDINGTON HOUSE AT NEWPORT, R. I.

freemen of the colony; and a General Assembly to consist of six members from Newport, four each from Providence, Portsmouth, and Warwick, and two for each town admitted or to be admitted in the colony. This fixed representation, retained for nearly two centuries while town populations were continually changing, was one of the causes of the "Dorr Rebellion" in 1842. Entire governing power was vested in the colony. Even the usual provision that colonial laws should not be repugnant to the laws of England, but as nearly as possible agreeable to them, was qualified by the clause "considering the nature and constitution of the place and people." The colonial authorities were given command of the military forces of the colony; a right which they managed to maintain in general until the Revolution, and which enabled them at times to evade their proper share of contribution to the common defense of New England.

1663

Government under Rhode Island charter

The charter attempted to define the bounds of the colony; but the question was not settled without long and bitter disputes, in which the very existence of Rhode Island was involved. Indeed, to the systematic and orthodox Puritans of the Bay colony and the judicially tempered men of Connecticut, it seemed a thing anomalous that these erratic, semi-responsible Rhode-Islanders should exist at all as a separate government. It appeared not only proper but necessary that they should be brought under the control of a power sufficiently strong to enforce obedience to the laws.

Charter and the boundary question

1663-4

Her best trump

Fortunately for both parties, Rhode Island maintained her independence chiefly through a threat to exercise the right of appeal; a proceeding especially disliked by the New England colonies, naturally little disposed to appear before the Council board of the restored Stuarts.

The new government of the colony passed an act repealing in a body all the laws that might be deemed repugnant to the laws of England. The machinery of the courts was remade and set in motion. Two general trial courts were to sit annually, and special courts when necessary. The town governments were authorized to continue their functions, and the precedence of the towns was established. For the time being it was ordered that the governor, deputy, and Assistants should be chosen in an assembly of all the freemen.

Judicial system

The Narragansett colonies now united under the charter, recognizing the great fundamental principle of their foundation, at once attempted to regulate the chief sources of disturbance within their borders. The questions of the Connecticut settlement, and the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over the lands of the sachem Pomham or Pumham, were reopened; but nothing definite was concluded before the arrival of the royal commissioners in 1664.

The royal commissioners

Of the four commissioners the ablest and most reputable, Nicholls, was occupied chiefly with the conquest and subsequent organization of the province of New York. Chancellor Hyde had found it necessary to warn Maverick against expressing too

openly his hostility to Massachusetts. It may be assumed, therefore, that he would in general support the contentions of Rhode Island against the Bay colony. Of Cartright little is known, except that it was said in Boston that he was a papist,—a general charge that always worked well. Carr, the fourth member, was noted in New England chiefly as a man of loose morals, who owed his appointment to the fact of his relationship to Secretary Bennet (afterward Lord Arlington), while at home his habits had attracted the attention of the observant Pepys.

1664–5

The royal commissioners

To this quartet of worthies was committed the welfare of New England, the last stronghold of Puritanism, which in the opinion of Clarendon was becoming hardened in republicanism. Moreover, the newly granted charters had produced a more tangled condition as to claims and boundaries than had existed previously. These and other disputes were to be heard by the commissioners, and determined or referred to the King in Council. John Clarke had returned in June 1664, after an absence of twelve years; and his knowledge of the London side of the Connecticut controversy, and of the circumstances of the compromise, was of the greatest value. In October a deputation from Rhode Island visited the commissioners in New York, where the considerate and even cordial reception given them presaged a fortunate issue of their suits.

Against New England

Reach America

Early in the following year, 1665, the commissioners reached Narragansett Bay; where they

1665

Royal commissioners at work

received a petition signed by Gorton, Greene, Holden, and others,—the original purchasers of the Warwick lands,—reciting their persecutions and praying for redress. Upon purchase of the lands on Warwick Neck from the sachem Pomham, and the removal of him and his followers from the territory, title and possession were confirmed to Gorton and his companions.

Settlement of boundary disputes

A more difficult question faced the commissioners when the ownership of the Narragansett lands was to be decided. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were prepared to argue and support their claims. The commissioners chose the easiest course, considering the perplexities of the situation and the limitations imposed by their own instructions. The Narragansett Indians again made formal submission to the Crown, agreeing to pay in token thereof two wolf-skins annually, and not to make war or sell lands without permission. The country from Narragansett Bay to the Pawcatuck River was named King's Province. The government of it was intrusted to the governor and Assembly of Rhode Island until the following election, after which it was continued for one year. The purchase of the Atherton Company was declared void, though settlers within its bounds were to be allowed to remain.

The right of appeal to the commissioners, the source of so much trouble in Massachusetts, was admitted without question in Rhode Island. In return for this ready acquiescence, the commissioners remanded many of the appealed cases to

the colonial court for final adjudication. Moreover, they were gratified by the conduct of Rhode Island, which they never ceased to compare with that of Massachusetts; and they condoned, overlooked, or excused many weaknesses of the colony. They reported that all processes were issued in his Majesty's name, that all who desired were admitted freemen, that liberty of conscience and freedom of worship were allowed to all, and that all laws contrary to his Majesty's honor and dignity would be repealed. 1665

Commissioners approve Rhode Island

The commissioners reported further that the Hamilton claims were not within their jurisdiction, and were transmitted to the Council. The exclusion of Rhode Island from the New England confederation, and the hostile attitude of Massachusetts toward her weaker neighbor, were made the subjects of comment unfavorable to the Bay colony.

As against rest of New England

The colony of Rhode Island is described at this time as being composed of two towns upon the island and two upon the mainland, with four small villages. The land was fertile, specially well adapted to grazing. None of the inhabitants were wealthy. They were of an independent spirit which was restive under restraints of any sort. The burdens of office rested heavily upon them, and they were burdened also with the knowledge of their own weaknesses. The commissioners were of the opinion that there were not more than two men in the colony fit for the duties imposed upon the higher officials under the charter. One man was

Tbeir description of it

1665

excused from the position of solicitor upon the ground of his "insufficiencies for the performance thereof," and a successor was not found without long search. The governor and deputy received salaries of £16 a year; and later, each magistrate was paid three shillings a day for each day of service, while he forfeited double that amount if he absented himself. The dislike to government was almost equal to their reluctance to accept office. There was constant opposition to taxation, and not infrequently force was used to collect levies from the recalcitrant towns. No places were set aside for public worship. There were so many sects that they were forced to meet sometimes in one place, sometimes in another.

Defects of colonial Rhode Island

The King was greatly pleased by the conduct of Rhode Island, and promised that he would not be unmindful of their loyal behavior, but would remember it to their advantage. Naturally, he compared at some length the dutiful behavior of this little group of "outcasts" with the (to him) strangely stubborn and headstrong course of Massachusetts; thus adding no little satisfaction to the somewhat meager amount of that sentiment in Rhode Island. The self-deprecating tone of the official letters of the time is shown in a communication to Lord Clarendon notifying him of a gift of one thousand acres of land. The writers refer to the scorn, contempt, slander, reproach, threatening, molestation, captiving, imprisoning, fining, and plundering which they have experienced at the hands of their neighbors, and add, "This poor

Charles pleased with Rhode Island

It bemoans itself

THE OLD STONE HOUSE AT WARWICK, R. I.

despised and almost extinguished colony, next under God and his Majesty owe even their all to your Lordship." 1665–9

The outbreak of the war between England and Holland caused much alarm in the defenseless colony of Rhode Island. The magistrates of the town were empowered to raise forces for sudden emergencies, the Indians were to be disarmed, and all were ordered to leave the island. Preparations were made to arm, equip, and drill the militia, cannon were mounted, and powder and ball gathered into a common stock. The Dutch war

The year 1669 was an eventful one, by reason of serious local disputes and the rumors of Indian disaffection which was to culminate years later in the tragedies of Philip's War. Indian rumors

In 1667 two sets of officers had been elected in the town of Providence. One was seated by the General Court, while the leader of the other faction was fined £50—a fine which was remitted one year later upon the request of Governor Nicholls of New York. Warwick[1] objected to paying a share of the expense incurred by Clarke while agent of the colony in London, and in 1668 Stonington and Town squabbles

[1] The town of Warwick possessed a file known officially as the "impertinent file," colloquially as the "damned file," for papers written by persons not "learned in the school of good manners how to speak to men of sobriety." Among other things, it contained a letter concerning the delinquent tax for Clarke's expenses, "full of uncivil language as if it had been indicted in hell." There were other letters indited chiefly in Massachusetts, and a most "pernitious" letter from Roger Williams. Had the Warwick men added a letter-book containing some of their own missives, the file would have been doubly worthy of the name.

1668–72

Wickford petitioned the Connecticut Assembly for admission to that colony.[1]

Meanwhile, internal dissension at Providence had so far increased that no deputies were seated for that town in the General Court of 1669. A committee appointed by the court held an election in Providence in March 1670, in which officers were chosen from both factions and the strife was somewhat appeased. It became necessary to compel men to perform their civil duties by admitting them as freemen when they became qualified, whether they desired admission or not. In 1672 an entire change of deputies took place; nor was this of rare occurrence, so unstable were men's minds and so nearly equal the strength of parties. The Assembly of 1672 undid the work of its predecessor by repealing all its acts. Taxes were reduced or repealed, thus removing one of the principal sources of vexation. A sedition law was passed against any "of a factious and malicious spirit who opposed any or all votes." This act was repealed, however, by the succeeding Assembly.

Internal discord

To add to the general confusion, Connecticut again revived her claim to the Narragansett country; but Rhode Island stood firmly upon her rights, as established by the agreement between Clarke and Winthrop and the later decision of the commissioners. As a last resort, an appeal to the King was threatened, with the usual result of quieting discussion for a while.

Connecticut again threatening

About this time the Quaker element became dominant in Rhode Island. George Fox, the

founder of the sect, visited America and spent some time in the colony. The people flocked to hear him; and the aged Williams, whose love of controversy had ripened but not mellowed with age, prepared to enter the lists against the champion of Quaker doctrines, by sending a challenge to debate upon fourteen propositions, in which he attacked the theories of Fox and his followers.

1671-6

George Fox in America

Unfortunately the challenge was sent so late that it added a new subject of controversy. Williams claimed that Fox left the colony on purpose to avoid the debate, while the Quakers claimed that Williams withheld the propositions until he knew Fox had made preparations to depart. Williams, then seventy-three, rowed alone from Providence to Newport, "God," as he said, "graciously assisting me with my old bones." He arrived at Newport about midnight of the day before the debate, which was sustained by three of the Quakers in the absence of Fox. It is of interest to-day chiefly because it shows to what extent the so-called liberal leaders of the day were masters of personal invective.

Debate with Roger Williams falls through

The years from 1673 to 1676 were full of trouble and distraction. Indian affairs were approaching a crisis, and in 1673 New York was retaken by the Dutch. The colony prepared to defend its borders both by land and sea. Train-bands began to show an unwonted activity. Pensions were provided for those injured in war and for the dependents of the slain. The rights of religion were carefully guarded, however, by an enactment that no one

Stirrings of war

was to be forced to fight against his conscience.
1675 To such scrupulous ones were commended the care of the weak and aged, and contributions for the support of those in the field.

Happily for Rhode Island, there was no trouble with the Dutch; but an even more serious blow fell when King Philip's War began with the attack upon Swansea in June of 1675. The government
King Philip's War of Rhode Island was now in the hands of the non-resisting Quakers. As a colony, she had no special grievance against the Indians, and disapproved of the war. Moreover, her repeated requests for admission to the New England confederacy had been denied.

During the earlier period of the war the colony of Rhode Island was successful in warding off savage inroads; but it soon became deeply involved, and later became the seat of the war. The
Rhode Island slowly drawn in partial defeat of the English at the Pocasset swamp added to the strength of the natives, and enabled Philip to escape to the Nipmucks. Rhode Island established councils of war in the several towns, giving them absolute authority. The confederacy now contemplated an attack upon the Narragansetts within the borders of Rhode Island, against the advice and without the consent of that colony.

The first act of open warfare in Rhode Island was committed in December 1675, when fifteen
Great Narragansett fight whites were set upon and slain at South Kingston. Upon the 19th the famous attack was made upon the Narragansett fort. After a stubborn fight and

heavy losses, the English captured and burned the stronghold. Over a thousand of the savages were slain. Several of the English leaders, Benjamin Church among the number, opposed the burning of the village, meaning to use the huts for shelter; but the opposition was unheeded. The colonial forces found themselves exposed to the midwinter cold, after a morning of marching without food and an afternoon of battle. Many died from exhaustion before their camping-ground was reached, more perished from the cold.

1675–6

Narragansetts crushed

When the army marched northward in pursuit of King Philip, the town of Warwick was abandoned. The mainland settlements about Providence for the most part were deserted, the inhabitants taking refuge on the island. Warwick was burned, and the northern part of Providence suffered the same fate. The island was defended by four armed sloops, which patrolled the coast constantly to prevent attack.

Rhode Island's devastation

The capture of Canonchet, chief sachem of the Narragansetts, in April 1676, as he was crossing the Pawcatuck River, was a severe blow to the cause of Philip. Canonchet was executed with all the barbarities of savage warfare. His native enemies were made his executioners. The Pequots shot him; his body was quartered by the Mohegans, and burned by the Niantics, who sent his head as a "token of love" to the commissioners of the United Colonies.

Canonchet slain

For a short time Rhode Island was relieved of the burden of war; but every house between

1676

Stonington and Providence, except a stone house at Warwick, had been destroyed. It was necessary to place a garrison in Providence that the spring planting might go on. The law releasing the Quakers from bearing arms was repealed, and they were enrolled for the defense of the colony.

Rhode Island's dreadful ravages

The Indians were in Rhode Island in July, when many petty isolated atrocities took place from their roving parties. The English scattered over the land, and put to death every Indian who fell into their hands.

The tragedy was drawing to a close. Some of the Indian allies were seeking safety in flight, others were submitting. Of those who fled, many lost their lives in the fight with Major Talcott near the Housatonic River. Others joined Philip, now in hiding near his old fortress Mount Hope. Captain Benjamin Church's expedition in search of Philip set out near the end of July. Early in August, forty Indians were made prisoners and ordered to be sold within the colony.

August 12 King Philip met his death, thus virtually ending the war. A few days later a large number of Indians were taken, and either executed or sold into slavery. The captives belonging to Rhode Island were sold to service within the colony. The terms of service varied from seven years for those above thirty years of age, to twenty-five or more for those less than five. Laws were passed for more careful watch over the free Indians, and compulsory military service was abolished.

End of King Philip's War

The sounds of Indian warfare were hardly stilled when Connecticut brought up again the question of the disputed boundaries. To add to the complication, Providence and Pawtuxet quarreled over territory, and Warwick had with Providence a long-standing dispute as to jurisdiction. The details of these troubles are wearisome, and of little historic value save as they illustrate some of the difficulties which beset this weakest and most erratic of the colonies in the days of its infancy.

1676–8

Boundary and jurisdictional troubles

No small part of the internal trouble in Rhode Island came from the deep-seated objection to taxation, due partly to the poverty of the people and in part also to their peculiar principles. Each community possessed characteristics which separated it from the others. Often these were religious, often they were political; but union in either sentiment or action was a condition of rare occurrence. For a time no tax could be levied without a full deputation from all the towns, a requirement modified later to a notice under the governor's seal previous to every levy.

Internal discord

The laws also were poorly written and poorly composed, due to the educational deficiencies inherent in the origins of the colony. There were many complaints that the statute-books were illegible, and that the magistrates themselves could neither interpret nor administer the laws. The colony accounts were often in a hopeless confusion. At one time, after a vain endeavor to audit an account, a decree was passed making "a full and fynal issue of all differences relating to the said

Poor educational standing

1679–83

accounts from the beginnings of the world to this present Assembly."

Population in 1679

In 1679 Sir Edmund Andros, then on his way to England from the government of New York, visited Rhode Island. He reported the number of men capable of rendering military service at from one thousand to fifteen hundred: a number equal to that of Plymouth, about one-third as large as the forces of Connecticut, and one-tenth those of Massachusetts.

In 1680 the English government again attempted the regulation of colonial affairs. The laws of navigation had from their enactment been but spasmodically enforced. For the most part they were ignored or evaded. Moreover, the New England colonies showed no intention of departing further than need was from their programme of practical independence. There was therefore from the friends of government, the English merchants, and the enemies of New England at once, a continual demand for the enforcement of the laws of trade, and for the appointment of a general governor for the northern colonies.

New England evades home restrictions

Shortly after 1680, afflictions descended upon New England in the bodily form of several royal officials; chief of whom in malicious misrepresentation and power to annoy was Edward Randolph, appointed surveyor-general of customs. For a time the sphere of his activity did not include Rhode Island; but in 1683 Governor Cranfield of New Hampshire, Edward Randolph, and Joseph Dudley, with others of lesser note, were appointed

Edward Randolph

a commission to determine the ownership of lands in King's Province. 1683

The Assembly of Rhode Island refused to recognize the commission, and from a convenient distance kept close watch of the proceedings. A decree was passed ordering the governor and Council to forbid the meeting of the commissioners, who were requested to depart from the territory. The commissioners completed their work, deciding adversely to the Rhode Island claims. The colony, however, refused to recognize the validity of this finding, which reversed the decision of the commission of 1664.

Rhode Island and the commission of 1683

It was not to be expected that New England would find favor in the eyes of men like Cranfield and Randolph. To have done so would have been evidence of its great deterioration, and lack of devotion to the first principles of the New England system. Randolph complained that Rhode Island levied illegal taxes, denied appeals to the King, made laws contrary to English laws, would not allow the English laws to be pleaded in their courts, took no legal oaths, and violated the laws of trade. In this case as in most of Randolph's allegations, there was some genuine foundation for the complaints: he dealt customarily in half-truths, which under his touch became more misleading and injurious than plain falsehood could have been. For many of these violations the charter might be urged as a proper excuse, for others the remoteness of the colony and its peculiarities of local government.

Randolph's complaints

1683-6

In 1683 Roger Williams died. Forty-seven years before, he had fled to the wilderness, which he had seen transformed into a colony. He had witnessed the gradual spread of his favorite ideas, some of them indeed to an extent of which he could not approve. His earliest friends, the Indians, had been greatly reduced in numbers by battle and disease. But two of his contemporaries, John Greene and Randal Holden, survived. Most of the opponents with whom he had contended so strenuously had died, and time had changed his spirit and modified his views. In great crises he had rendered important services to the commonwealth; but except at such times he was not active, or apparently of great influence, in the affairs of the colony. In many respects he was not in harmony with his earlier associates; many of their acts and theories he could not approve: but throughout his life he remained a consistent supporter of his favorite doctrine of soul-liberty.

Roger Williams' death

Upon the accession of James II. another attack was made upon the colonial charters. Writs of *quo warranto* had been issued against Delaware and the Jersey provinces, and were soon to be served upon Rhode Island and Connecticut.

James II. assails colonial charters

Edward Randolph, to whom the service of the writs had been intrusted, reached New England in May 1686, and soon thereafter the provisional government under Dudley completed the organization of King's Province.

Meanwhile Randolph had served the writ which was intended to revoke the charter; and the

Assembly in reply sent an address to the King, "humbly prostrating themselves and their privileges at the feet of his gracious Majesty, with an entire resolution to serve him with faithful hearts." Rhode Island was accordingly included in the government of Sir Edmund Andros, who reached Massachusetts in the following December. Seven inhabitants of Rhode Island were included in the council of the new governor, some of whom did not serve, though five were present at the first meeting. For a time the colony seemed to acquiesce in the loss of the charter (which *document,* however, was never given up any more than in Connecticut), probably trusting to an appeal to the King for a continuance of their privileges. Moreover, Rhode Island suffered less than the other New England colonies during the rule of Andros. The general government of the colony had always been weak. The towns continually encroached upon it, after they had built it up from time to time by reluctant grants of power. Local government, however, was not seriously affected by the Andros usurpation.

1686

Andros takes over Rhode Island government

The course of Rhode Island has been severely criticised, but no other line of action seemed open. Active resistance was the only possible way out of the difficulty; and for that but one colony, Massachusetts, was prepared. It is probable also that the Bay colony would have suffered more indignities had not James alienated, one after another, all of his supporters in England. We may be sure that Andros, who was a man of tact and

Little power or wish to resist

1686–7

moderation compared with James, would not have committed the same acts of political foolhardiness as his royal master; but had James not been unseated, it is as certain as anything can be that the revolution in New England would not have taken place. When the prosperous Bermudas and the City of London failed to keep their charters, there was small hope for the unvalued colony of Rhode Island.

Opinion divided on resisting Andros

Public opinion in the colony was by no means unanimous as to the wisdom of submission. Some of the Narragansett settlers sent a petition to the King praying to be relieved of the tax necessary to pay the expenses of a messenger to London; and Providence disowned the address of the Assembly, preferring annexation to the government of New England.

Under the Andros régime the General Assembly was suspended; and the court of trials gave place to a court of quarter sessions, and an inferior court of common pleas composed of nine judges. Andros next sat in judgment upon the various claims to territory within the bounds of the Narragansett country, making a full report in 1687. The pretensions of the Atherton Company were denied, on the ground that the grants had been forced from the Indians. Moreover, the submission of the Indian sachems in 1664 was held to vest the title in the King. In addition, the new Governor confirmed the rights of Rhode Island to the bounds defined by the charter, which outweighed many grievances.

Andros' Rhode Island action

During the rule of Andros the people of Rhode Island rested from the arduous duties of government, by which they were at times almost overwhelmed. The news of the prospect of an heir to James II. was the occasion for a day of thanksgiving, perfunctorily performed. Still less enthusiasm greeted the announcement of the birth of the Pretender; but the news of the accession of William and Mary produced no such joyous outburst in Rhode Island as in the other colonies. 1688–9

The news of the revolution in Boston was not long in reaching Rhode Island. Some Providence men seized Dudley, who was holding court in the Narragansett country, and sent him to Boston for trial. On the 23d of April a call was issued to the people of Rhode Island, in which the late government was referred to as "silenced and eclipsed," while the people were asked to meet before the 1st of May at Newport to consider a plan of action. An attempt was made to induce Walter Clarke, the former governor, to accept the office. Clarke declined, and Christopher Almy was chosen. He too declined the honor; after which the office remained vacant for ten months, when Henry Bull, one of the Antinomians, now a Quaker and more than eighty years of age, was persuaded to sacrifice himself. Government under the charter was resumed, and the officers were re-established. **Rhode Island in Revolution of 1688**

The law officers of the Crown decided later, as with Connecticut, that the charter had never been revoked legally, thus giving official sanction

to the act of the colony. Had a new charter been necessary, there is not much question but that it would have abridged the special privileges of Rhode Island, and made the government more directly dependent upon the Crown, as was the case in Massachusetts. The administration was too busy elsewhere to interfere in the affairs of a minor colony with a strong legal opinion in its favor, therefore the petition for the continuance of the old charter with its many privileges was received with favor.

Rhode Island recovers its charter

For the first sixty years of the eighteenth century the colonies were engaged in a continuous struggle with the French and their native allies. Happily for the English, the power of France on the sea was insignificant compared with that of her rival, otherwise the long and imperfectly protected fringe of English colonies on the coast must have fallen into the hands of France. Rhode Island with her small force had forty miles of coast with three harbors to protect. It is not remarkable, therefore, that the colony was able to send but few men to take part in the many invasions of French territory projected and undertaken during the half-century of conflict. Yet it voted £300 to aid Leisler's ill-fated expedition against the French; and when a French fleet descended upon the coast, capturing Nantucket and Block Island and attacking Newport and New London, a small force of Rhode-Islanders successfully beat off an attack near Block Island and relieved Newport.

The French-English colonial duel

1691–7

There was a discussion over the control of the militia, similar to that which raised such a storm in Connecticut. The commission of Sir William Phips gave him command of the militia of the two colonies; but to this commission little attention was paid other than by protest. The question was referred to the law officers of the Crown, who decided that the colony had the right under the charter to provide for the enrolment and training of the militia, but that proportional levies could be required for the King's service under a commander appointed by the Crown.

Militia question

In 1696 the House of Deputies was made a distinct body separate from the Council, with power to elect their own officers. The following year the claim of the heirs of the Marquis of Hamilton was decided adversely, on the ground that to allow it would disturb previous land grants. Moreover, but for the civil war in England, the claim would have been disbarred by the statute of limitations.

The Hamilton claim

The peace of Ryswick (1697) left the English government free to continue the endeavor to reduce to a uniform system the widely differing forms of colonial administration which had prevailed in New England. Brenton, Rhode Island's agent in England, returned to the colony empowered to administer to the governor the oath to observe the laws of trade. Clarke, the governor, was a Quaker, to whom oaths of any sort were repugnant. The laws of trade were unpopular. The governor refused to take the oath, and declined to deliver

England worries the fractious colonies again

1697–8

commissions which Brenton had brought for the officials of a new Court of Customs. During the French war the colony had constituted an admiralty court, and now prayed for a continuation of the privilege. The introduction of any governmental machinery dependent upon the English Crown was considered a dangerous precedent, to be resisted as long as possible.

Resists new English rules

In May 1698 Governor Clarke was succeeded by his nephew Samuel Cranston, who held the office for thirty years. The power of the Quaker majority decreased somewhat, and Rhode Island became more like the other colonies of New England, with evidences of greater public spirit.

These were the golden days of piracy, and the enemies of Rhode Island claimed that the colony profited directly by protecting the freebooters. In May 1698 Edward Randolph made this statement, adding that neither the judges nor witnesses in court were bound by any form of oath. To remove somewhat the stigma attached to rumored partnership with pirates, the Assembly passed an act in 1698, providing that any suspected person bringing foreign money and merchandise into the colony might be seized and held for trial, unless he could produce satisfactory evidence of the way by which he became possessed of the property in question.

Share in the colonial piracy

The immediate effect of Randolph's report was a series of instructions to the Earl of Bellomont, directing him to investigate and report to the Lords of Trade upon conditions in Rhode Island.

His report forms the most serious indictment in the history of the colony. Prejudiced it certainly was; but the bias was that of a rigid administrator, a conscientious lover of order and discipline, but neither petty nor tyrannical. 1698–9

Bellomont visited Rhode Island in 1699, and found much that was not to his liking. He could not find that any effort had been made to convert the Indians or to provide for their education. The ministers were neither learned nor orthodox, and the people were shamefully ignorant. The Assemblies were not held as the charter directed, and proxies were allowed in the election of general officers. In 1699 a session of the General Assembly had been held without formal summons by writ, and an act had been published as the work of the Assembly which had never received a vote of the House of Deputies. Legal proceedings were without method, arbitrary, and contrary to the laws of England. The attorney-general was an ignorant mechanic; while several of the Assistants, members of the Council, and justices of the peace could with difficulty write more than their own names. The navigation laws were broken openly, and there was a suspicion that pirates were regarded with a not unfriendly eye. In conclusion Bellomont remarked: "I apprehend his Majesty is neither honored nor served by that government as at present it is managed." Severe indictment of Rhode Island

After making due allowance for the punctilious regard for forms which has always characterized the English official, it is evident that this report

1699–1702

was a most serious arraignment of the Rhode Island administration. Unlike Cranfield, Randolph, Dudley, or Cornbury, Bellomont had no particular reason, save from the standpoint of a sound administrator, for wishing any change in the government of Rhode Island. There was little doubt that a writ would issue against the charter; but it was deferred for a time, and the death of Bellomont and changes soon afterward in the English government gave the colony a respite.

The Westerly controversy

Meanwhile Connecticut and Rhode Island had quarreled over the control of Westerly, and the latter colony resorted to high-handed violence to carry their point. The little settlement of Frenchmen which had been formed by Huguenots, who had fled from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was forcibly absorbed by the town of Greenwich.

Show of enforcing navigation acts

The colonial Assembly prepared to enforce the laws of trade, and thus remove one of the chief causes of complaint. Vessels were to file lists of passengers upon entering colonial harbors, and permits for shipping colonial seamen were to be obtained. No one was allowed to board incoming vessels save the officers appointed for that purpose, without the permission of the governor or two Assistants.

In 1702 the population of Rhode Island was estimated at ten thousand, exclusive of Indians. A vagrant act was passed, to prevent the immigration of undesirable elements with which the colony had been overrun.

When the war of the Spanish Succession was declared, a notification was published in each town. A privateer, the *Greyhound,* was commissioned for a five-months' cruise, and measures were taken for the defense of the coast. In April 1702, Governor Dudley of Massachusetts visited Rhode Island to take the necessary oaths as commander of the militia and vice-admiral of the colony. But Dudley's orders were disregarded, and an agent was sent to England to protest against his pretensions. Dudley admitted that there were some good men in Rhode Island, but said that the Quakers "raged indecently" against his commission as vice-admiral.

1702–3

Privateer commissioned

Dudley tries to take command

In the mean time the *Greyhound* had captured three fishing vessels and brought them to port. Dudley attempted to interfere with the local admiralty court, threatening to confiscate the vessels and try the sailors for piracy. Dudley aimed too high in this case. His threats produced in England the opposite of the effect intended. William Penn was now agent for the colony, and was able to avert the evil effect of Dudley's schemes.

Useless bluster

In 1703 the long-standing boundary dispute between Connecticut and Rhode Island was settled by a board of commissioners appointed by each colony. The line then adopted, which granted practically all of the claims of Rhode Island, was ratified by the English government. It is substantially the boundary to-day.

Boundary question settled

The machinations of Dudley continued to endanger the charter and liberties of Rhode Island,

1703–8

no less than those of the other colonies. Indeed, the reign of Queen Anne was a dangerous one to colonial liberties. In 1708 an opinion was delivered by the law officers of the Crown, to the effect that neither the charter of Rhode Island nor that of Connecticut could prevent the appointment of a royal governor. The intrigues in the court at home, the general engagements of England upon the Continent, and the disturbed condition of colonial affairs, are the principal reasons why a general governor was not appointed; but colonial liberties were never so seriously threatened until the day when George III. determined to shape them to his will.

Decision against charters

During the war with France, alarms were frequent in Rhode Island. In 1706 a French fleet was reported to be about to attack the seaboard towns. A Rhode Island vessel was captured by a French privateer, but two hastily equipped ships captured the French ship with its prize. The two guard sloops of the colony repelled an attack of the French in 1708. The two succeeding years were spent in vain efforts to break up the French domination and control of Canada. Rhode Island levied a tax of £1000, equipped a force of two hundred men, and sent two war vessels to cooperate in the movement. Nothing came of it, save the unfortunate financial complications resulting from the bills of credit issued to meet the expenses of the expedition.

French harassments in Spanish war

Early in the eighteenth century the slave trade had been opened to the British merchants, for

the purpose of supplying the colonies with cheap labor. To this the northern colonies were opposed, and in 1708 Rhode Island passed a law imposing a tax of £3 on each slave imported. Not more than twenty to thirty slaves were brought into the colony each year, and these generally from the Barbadoes. The colonists preferred white servants.

1708–15

Slave trade unpopular in North

A census in 1708 made the number of inhabitants about 10,000, of whom about 1000 were freemen, and about 400 negroes. The exports were estimated at £20,000, the principal direct trade being with the West Indies. The convenient harbors and the limited territory made seafaring a favorite occupation. Shipbuilding flourished. The vessels built were swift sailers, of excellent model. One hundred and three had been built in the decade ending with 1708. The trade with England was by way of Boston. The chief articles of export to the West Indies were lumber, horses, beef and pork, butter and cheese, cider, onions, Indian corn, and candles. From the West Indies were imported sugar, cotton, rum, molasses to make into rum, ginger, and indigo. The trade with the other colonies consisted of butter and cheese, rum, sugar, and molasses, with imports of wheat, rice, furs, and ship supplies (tar, pitch, and turpentine).

Foreign commerce of Rhode Island

At the close of the war of the Spanish Succession, Rhode Island was burdened with a large amount of rapidly depreciating paper money. An advance had been made, however, in the

1713–4

enforcement of the laws of trade. Shipmasters were watched more carefully, and the entrance and clearance of vessels reduced to a more perfect system.

Time of Hanoverian accession—internal measures

The officers of the colony in 1713 were a governor, deputy-governor, and ten Assistants; a recorder, treasurer, and attorney-general; and two majors, one in command on the mainland, the other in the island towns. The outstanding indebtedness, as represented by the various issues of bills of credit, amounted to about £13,000. Internal improvements, neglected in time of war, were planned. New roads were opened and old ones repaired. A law was passed prohibiting for one year the exportation of grain, and prices for imported breadstuffs were fixed by law. Peddlers were forbidden to sell their goods anywhere within the colony.

Internal politics

The paper-money question soon became a source of discussion and dissension. A part of the colony favored the further issue of bills of credit, to which there was a determined opposition. In 1714 the "hard-money" party was successful at the polls. Of twenty-eight deputies in the former Assembly, but six were returned. All militia laws were repealed the same year, to lighten the burden of the taxpayer. The year following, the political pendulum swung to the other extreme. All of the ten Assistants failed of re-election, and but five of the deputies retained their seats. Governor Cranston was approved by all parties.

The first work of the new government was to issue an additional £30,000 in bills of credit, which were to serve as a popular five per cent. loan to be repaid within two years. Before the end of the year, another £10,000 were issued. 1714–24

The accession of the House of Hanover made but little change in colonial administration, save to revive for a time the project of a general governor. The Board of Trade complained that the laws of Connecticut and Rhode Island were not subject to English approval, urging this as a basis for a change. Various plans were proposed, without any effective result save to bring forth Jeremiah Dummer's celebrated "Defense of the American Charters." Board of Trade clings to its purpose

There were numerous clashes between the people and the customs officers, and riots were frequent in which goods seized for violating the navigation laws were taken from the officers by force. The colony encouraged manufactures by appropriations and bounties, and thereby violated another great principle of colonial relations as understood by England. Colony acts otherwise

During the first quarter of the eighteenth century the population of Rhode Island increased rapidly. There was danger of the political control passing into the hands of the new-comers. Therefore in 1724 a law was passed establishing a property qualification for the franchise of £100, or an annual income of £2 from real estate. The sons of freemen who were of age were allowed to vote, and local franchise might be exercised New franchise laws

1724–30

by those who were freemen of the towns, but not of the colony. The three counties of Newport, King's County (the old King's Province), and Providence were organized in 1729. The justices of the peace in each county, or any five of them, were to constitute a court for the trial of criminal offenders, except in capital cases. The inferior courts of common pleas consisted of four judges appointed by the Assembly. The jurors for both courts were elected in town meetings preceding the session of the court. Both courts held sessions semi-annually in each county; and from each, appeals were allowed to the superior court (consisting of the upper house of the Assembly or any five of its members), sitting at Newport in March and September.

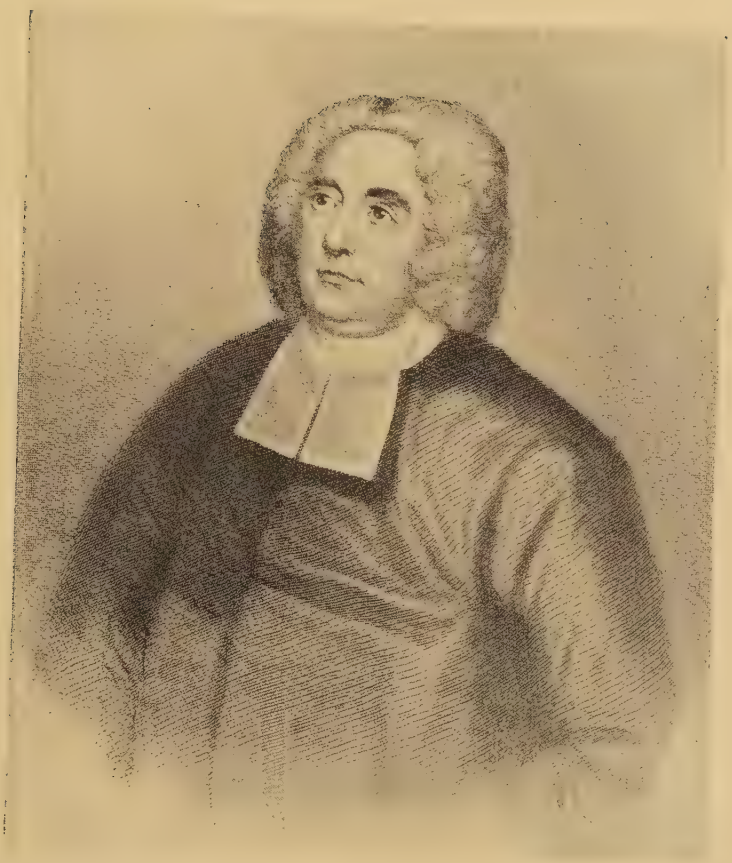
New courts

Governor Cranston died in 1727. He had been governor of the colony for thirty years, and had directed its destinies in some of the most serious crises of its history. His wife was a granddaughter of Roger Williams, and he was the last link binding together the old régime and the new.

Death of Cranston

In 1730 the colony was honored by the presence of George Berkeley, dean of Derry and later bishop of Cloyne, the great metaphysician and friend of Addison, Swift, Steele, and Pope, to whom the latter in one of his lines attributed all the human virtues. Berkeley's purpose was to found a Protestant college in the Bermudas, for which he had been promised a royal grant of £20,000. He built near Newport a house which he called Whitehall, and was instrumental in

Bishop Berkeley



most affectionately
your humble servant
George Berkeley

BISHOP BERKELEY.

founding the Redwood Library. One of his friends was Edward Scott, for twenty years headmaster of the classical school at Newport, grand-uncle of Sir Walter. Another of his friends, Samuel Johnson, was a tutor at Yale and afterward president of King's College, now Columbia University. While in Rhode Island, Berkeley wrote a defense of the Christian religion in the form of a Socratic dialogue, which he entitled the "Minute Philosopher." He is better remembered for his ode on the Prospect of the Arts and Sciences in America, in which he expresses his firm belief in the future of the New World. The last quatrain is especially famous:

1730-1

Berkeley and his friends

> "Westward the course of Empire takes its way;
> The first four acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
> Time's noblest offspring is the last."

With Berkeley came George Smibert, architect and artist, to whom Copley and West owed much of their earlier inspiration. Berkeley was disappointed in his hopes for an American college. The promised grant was never made—partly, it was said, from a fear of encouraging sentiments of independence; and Berkeley returned to England in 1731.

Failure of proposed college

A census taken in 1730 showed the population of the colony to be about 18,000, of whom 1600 were negroes. The shipping amounted to 3500 tons, carrying annual exports to the value of £10,000.

1732-9 First newspaper

The first newspaper published in Rhode Island, the *Rhode Island Gazette*, made its appearance in 1732. It was a single sheet eight inches by twelve, printed by James Franklin, and was short-lived.

Churches

In 1739 there were thirty-three churches in the colony, of which twelve were Baptist, ten Quaker, six Congregational, five Episcopalian, besides other organizations not having places of worship. There was a good-fellowship among these bodies not to be found elsewhere in the colonies—the natural result of toleration.

Governors

Rhode Island owed much to her governors. Many of them were men of native talent, of good judgment and hard sense; and in general they possessed the confidence of the people, during the many rapid changes in politics which were characteristic of the colony. Cranston and Wanton were among the ablest of the governors. William Wanton,[1] who died in 1733, was a daring seaman, a man of original ideas, of executive force and ability, who saw the thing which needed doing and did it. He had during his life been honored by all the important offices of the colony.

The old feeling against Spain, common among Englishmen since the glorious days of Elizabeth

[1] Wanton was a Quaker, and was much in love with Ruth Bryant, the daughter of a Congregational deacon. Both families disapproved the match for religious reasons. Wanton solved the lovers' problem—essentially as such problems are pretty much always solved. "Friend Ruth," he said, "let us break from this unreasonable bondage. I will give up my religion and thou shalt thine, and we will go over to the Church of England and both go to the Devil together." The first part of the programme, at least, was carried out.

and the Armada, increased by the intrigues of Continental politics, forced England to a state of war despite the earnest efforts of Walpole to preserve the peace. Spain exercised the right of search with many annoying circumstances; and, so far at least as the rights of Spain were concerned, the English sailor acknowledged no law beyond the line. Six months before war was declared, Rhode Island commissioned a privateer, and in 1740 the colony was placed on a war footing. The forts were well supplied with munitions of war, watch-towers and guard vessels were built, and five more commissions were issued to privateers. Two companies of foot were levied as the contribution of the colony to Admiral Vernon's ill-fated expedition to the West Indies.

1740–4

Rhode Island and the Spanish war

The general abuse and dangerous results following from the excessive issue of paper money were constantly objected to by the Board of Trade, by the London merchants, and by the wealthier colonial traders. In 1740 the matter was brought to the attention of Parliament. Instructions were sent to the royal governors forbidding them to assent to these issues; but in some cases consent was forced, notwithstanding these instructions. In reply to a request for complete information concerning her paper money, Rhode Island submitted a report explaining the reason for each issue, the amount of the issue, the amount outstanding, and the measures adopted for redeeming the bills. They urged that colonial trade could not have flourished, nor could the colonies have

Paper money troubles

1744–8

contributed men or money for the wars, without such money. In 1748 £1000 in paper was worth less than one-tenth that amount in sterling. A report to the House of Commons two years later estimated that £312,000 in bills of credit had been issued since 1710. Of this somewhat more than half had been called in. The efforts of Parliament were fruitless; and Rhode Island remained more subject to paper-money crazes than any other New England colony.

Paper money

With the outbreak of war again in 1744, the garrisons of the colony were increased and supplies procured. The sloop-of-war *Tartar,* with 160 men, joined in the expedition against Louisbourg, while 150 men were voted for the land forces; 350 men, to each of whom Rhode Island paid a bounty of £10, served with the Massachusetts forces and were paid by that colony. Later, three companies of seamen were sent as recruits; but arriving too late to be of service in the siege, remained to garrison the forts. The *Tartar* was engaged with two other vessels in a desperate fight, in which reinforcements of French and Indians were beaten off. The following year plans were made for the invasion of Canada; but before these were completed, the colonies learned that France was preparing not only for the recapture of Louisbourg, but for the subjection of the English colonies as well. Offensive preparations gave way at once to measures of defense. The attack did not come until 1747, when the French were defeated by Admirals Anson and Warren. In

War of Jenkins' Ear

the following year the war terminated with the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. 1748–54

A report upon the condition of the colony in 1748 showed that the population had increased to 34,000, of whom about 4000 were Indians and negroes. A new county, Kent, was formed, with East Greenwich as the county town. There were twenty-five towns, of which Newport was the largest, with a population somewhat exceeding 5000.

Population and towns in 1748

It now became evident that the final contest for North America could not be long delayed. In 1754 a meeting of the governors and other delegates was held at Albany, to make a lasting peace with the Six Nations and to adopt measures for united action against the French. The charter privileges of Rhode Island had been endangered so often that the colony saw in these proceedings the old snare of a general governor. Her agent in London was directed to look for the report of the Albany Congress, and to endeavor to delay action upon it until the colony could make formal protest. Stephen Hopkins and Martin Howard, Jr., the colonial delegates, reported the action taken by the Albany meeting. That part of the report referring to the Indian treaty was adopted, but discussion upon the plan was deferred. Rhode Island, in common with the other colonies, distrusted any attempt which should in any way subject all of the colonies to a single control. The colony now entered upon another stormy period of her career. Excessive independence, personal

Albany Congress

Rhode Island against plan of union

Internal disorders

feuds, dislike to submit to the will of a majority, the uncertainty of public opinion, the complications introduced by paper money, and the necessities of war, all contributed to a condition which was not greatly improved until the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

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